Linguistic Viewpoint in Crime News Narratives

Form, Function and Impact

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by

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General Introduction

1 General Introduction

1.1 Introduction

On April 16, 2007, a 23-year old man killed 32 persons on the campus of Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University before committing suicide. The next day, *The New York Post* published an article about the shooting of which the intro is presented below.

> POP! One second, Derek O'Dell was studying German in the second-floor Virginia Tech classroom.
> The next, he whipped his head around, just in time to see a bullet tear through the skull of the young man sitting next to him.
> Even then, Derek, who turned 20 on Friday, thought the whole thing must be a terrible prank.
> "And then I saw the blood," he said quietly. It was pouring from the head of his classmate.
> "And I knew it wasn't a joke."
> Pop! Pop! The rest happened so fast. Without thinking, instinct took over, and Derek dove under his desk. It saved his life.
>
> (The New York Post 2007, April 17)

This article is not a typical news report answering the *who*, *what*, *where* and *when* questions of what happened. Instead, the article classifies as a news narrative which describes *how* it happened. News narratives constitute a journalistic genre in which storytelling techniques are employed to report upon newsworthy events. In crafting these narratives, journalists rely on the viewpoints of eyewitnesses in order to provide a detailed reconstruction of the events. The *New York Post* narrative, for instance, opens with a

phonetic impression of a gunshot as it was heard by witness Derek: "POP!" The narrative then moves on to describe what Derek was seeing (a bullet tearing through a skull) and thinking (*the whole thing must be a terrible prank*) while the gunman was trying to kill him and his classmates.

Describing events through the perceptual and psychological viewpoint of a character is typically associated with narrative fiction, where it is used as a dramatizing technique (Farner, 2014). The traditional function of news articles is, however, not to provide a dramatic but an informative and neutral account of reality. The use of this technique in the *New York Post* article thus signals a deviation from traditional news reports in form as well as function. The interplay between this form and function is the subject of the present thesis. Specifically, this thesis takes on a cognitive linguistic approach to examine the language of news narratives in light of their function and studies their impact on the audience.

1.2 Narrative Journalism

The study of news narratives has grown extensively over the past decades (Zelizer, 2004). One of the reasons for this increased interest lies in the so-called "narrative turn" in social studies and humanities, which was instigated by the realization that narratives play a central role in social life (Czarniawska, 2004). People spend remarkable amounts of their time producing and processing stories, which is generally taken as an indication that narratives must fulfill certain important functions that non-narrative communications are less capable of. The narrative turn has resulted in extensive discussions on the significance of narratives for human cognition, behavior, social interaction, and even evolution (see, e.g., Boyd, 2009; Gottschall, 2012; Scalise Sugiyama, 2001; Bruner, 2004). The interest in narratives has spread to journalism studies, too, where it was reasoned

that journalists "construct stories through narrative conventions that are culturally resonant for themselves and for their audiences" (Berkowitz, 2005: 608). Research on news narratives has continued to accumulate in recent years. In 2014, for example, the scientific journal *Journalism* dedicated an entire issue to the ethics of narrative journalism.[1]

A second reason for the increased academic interest in news narratives is the increased professional interest in storytelling (see, e.g., Ray, 2013; Shim, 2014). Over the past decades, narrative journalism has become a hot topic in newsrooms. In summing up the signs of this increased professional interest, Kramer (2000) highlights the number of journalists attending workshops and conferences on storytelling and the number of prestigious journalism prizes that are being awarded to narrative productions. In addition, an increasing number of books on how to write and sell journalistic narratives is being published by renowned professionals like Patsy Sims (2002), Peter Rubie (2006), Ndaeyo Uko (2007), Angela Phillips (2007), and Jack Hart (2011). In light of its growing popularity and recognition, storytelling is regarded by some as the future and even the panacea of journalism (Groot Kormelink & Costera Meijer, 2015; Neveu, 2014; Joseph, 2010).

1.2.1 A Definition

Despite the increasing academic and professional interest, a generally accepted definition of narrative journalism remains lacking. Most definitions describe narrative journalism in rather broad terms,

1 The terms "narrative journalism", "literary journalism", and "literary nonfiction" are often used interchangeably. The terms literary journalism and literary nonfiction seem to imply a judgment about the quality of the writing, however. To avoid connotations of aesthetic value, the more neutral term "narrative journalism" will be used throughout this thesis.

focusing on its bringing together aspects of the fictional and the nonfictional. Kramer (1995: 21), for instance, defines it as "the sort of nonfiction in which arts of style and narrative construction long associated with fiction help pierce to the quick of what's happening– the essence of journalism". More detailed definitions specify the features of narrative journalism, of which characters, scenes, and actions are among the most often mentioned (e.g., Rubie, 2006; Hart, 2011). Yet other definitions not only specify the features of news narratives, but also relate those features to intended and presupposed effects on readers. The definition provided by Vanoost (2013: n.p.), for example, reads as follows:

> A journalistic narrative can be defined as a story in which characters perform actions unfolding over time in a certain setting. The journalist uses writing techniques often considered as "literary". These include the use of voice, techniques that allow creating a form of experience for the reader (i.e. detail, expression of thoughts and feelings, etc.), and techniques that aim at capturing and maintaining the interest of this reader (i.e. suspense, conflict, tension between a complication and its resolution, etc.). The final goal of a journalistic narrative is to offer a better understanding of the real world, which implies that every detail has to be accurately reported.

Although these previous definitions provide adequate descriptions of what narrative journalism is and how it is supposed to function, they lack a degree of precision which is necessary for empirical examinations of the genre.

I consider narrative journalism as a genre in which storytelling techniques typically associated with fiction are applied to nonfiction. Although the genre spreads over different media, including television, books, radio, and the Internet, the focus of this thesis is limited to news narratives published in newspapers. A news narrative is here

defined as a reconstruction of a news event written from the viewpoint of one or more persons involved in the event, often with detailed descriptions of the spatiotemporal setting in which the event took place. The key elements in this definition are *reconstruction* and *viewpoint*[2], as they distinguish news narratives from fictional narratives on the one hand and non-narrative news articles on the other. First of all, fictional narratives are autonomous artifacts independent from the real world and may therefore *construct* imaginary events, characters, and settings. News narratives are, by contrast, dependent on reality and therefore *reconstruct* real world events, people, and settings. Second, the technique of describing events from the perceptual or psychological viewpoint of another person is generally considered to be restricted to authors of fiction. Farner (2014: 257), for instance, argues that "viewpoint or focalization is only possible in narrative fiction, which allows us to view the minds of others in a way that is unthinkable in real life." However, Sanders and Redeker (1993) showed that viewpoint techniques do in fact occur in news reports, although thought representations are considered unacceptable by readers. In the subgenre of news narratives, by contrast, such representations are acceptable and functional elements (Sanders, 2010). The combination of reconstruction and viewpoint is thus what sets news narratives apart from both fictional narratives and non-narrative news articles.

[2] The terms "viewpoint" and "perspective" are used interchangeably in this thesis, although at a conceptual level, one may recognize a gradual difference between the terms: viewpoint represents a more technical aspect of looking or seeing from a particular point of view in space/with a person, while perspective represents a more ideological aspect associated with world view or metaphoric viewpoint (colored conception, impression, attitude). The difference is not systematic, however, and in practical use often indiscernible or irrelevant.

1.2.2 A Brief History

Although its current popularity might seem to suggest otherwise, narrative writing in journalism is by no means a recent invention. In America, the emergence of a journalistic form that relies on the use of literary storytelling techniques can be traced back as far as the late 19th century (Hartsock, 2000). It was, however, not until the 1960s that narrative journalism became a fully-fledged genre with Tom Wolfe, Norman Mailer, and Truman Capote as important figureheads. Their style of nonfiction writing broke firmly with traditional journalistic conventions and became known as *The New Journalism*. New Journalists immersed themselves in the events, people, and cultures they wrote about. This immersion enabled them to experiment with literary techniques that bring scenes and characters to life, like point-of-view writing, interior monologue, dialogue, scene-by-scene construction, and phonetic impressions of speech (Frus, 1994: 133; Wolfe, 1973: 16-22).

The following passage by Tom Wolfe (1973: 15) makes clear that for New Journalists, the use of narrative techniques was not merely a stylistic experiment, but was also intended to elicit cognitive and affective responses in readers:

> What interested me was not simply the discovery that it was possible to write accurate non-fiction with techniques usually associated with novels and short stories. It was that–plus. It was the discovery that it was possible in non-fiction, in journalism, to use any literary device, from the traditional dialogisms of the essay to stream-of-consciousness, and to use many different kinds simultaneously, or within a relatively short space … to excite the reader both intellectually and emotionally.

New Journalists were both praised and criticized for their unconventional and creative style of journalistic writing. Their critics

thought of narrative journalism as violating the expectations of the public, as simultaneously second-rate literature and second-rate journalism, and as no more than "a bastard form" (MacDonald, 1974: 223; Weber, 1974). In spite of these firm criticisms, New Journalism techniques "were being discreetly assimilated by mainstream journalism" (Frus, 1994: 3-4). As of today, many of these techniques are well integrated in the standard reporting practices of journalists.

With the media landscape changing rapidly and intensely over the past two decades, the concepts of storytelling and narrativity have gained renewed interest in newsrooms (Shim, 2014). People no longer depend on newspapers to provide them with the latest news since the Internet has taken over that role. Along with the ongoing decline in newspaper circulation, this decaying dependency on newspapers has left journalists in search for new ways to attract readers. Using storytelling techniques to reconstruct events in a dramatic manner has become a prominent method to achieve this goal and is seen as an important promise for the future of journalism (Kramer, 2000; Neveu, 2014). The rise and resurrection of narrative journalism has prompted the coinage of *The New New Journalism* (Boynton, 2005) and *The New Old Journalism* (Johnston & Graham, 2012) as terms to denote a contemporary journalistic genre in which narrative techniques are employed to report upon events and situations occurring in the real world.

This contemporary genre of narrative journalism is often accused of the same criticisms the 1960s movement had to withstand. Much of this criticism is fueled by the genre's aim to "combine the objectivity, the factuality of the scenes and actions, and the greatest attention to the subjective dimension of the experience and feelings of the actors of the events" (Neveu, 2014: 538). The traditional norm of objectivity dictates that journalists should provide news in a factual and neutral manner without adding values, emotions, or comments to it (Schudson, 2001). Problems with the attainability of objectivity – and closely related notions such as neutrality and factuality – are recurrent topics of debate, especially in the context of narrative

journalism, a genre which is inherently subjective through its emphasis on personal experience (Tuchman, 1972; Barkin, 1984; Groot Kormelink & Costera Meijer, 2015).

Some researchers have come to the understanding, however, that objectivity and subjectivity are not mutually exclusive (e.g., Pantti, 2010; Van Zoonen, 1998). In a study on American news stories, Wahl-Jorgensen (2013b) finds that their prevalent use of subjective language (i.e., expressions of affect, judgment, and appreciation) does not necessarily subvert their claim to objectivity. She argues that a rethinking of objectivity is required in order to fully understand the working of storytelling conventions in journalism. But, as Deuze (2005b: 448) notes, "the embrace, rejection as well as critical reappraisal of objectivity all help to keep it alive as an ideological cornerstone of journalism". In journalism practice and public discourse, objectivity indeed remains a central value: it is what journalists strive for and what the public expects (Broersma, 2010; Post, 2015). By combining a standard of objectivity with a focus on subjective experiences, narrative journalism finds itself caught in the middle between ethical and aesthetical considerations (Greenberg, 2014: 529).

Against the background of the ongoing debate about ethics and objectivity in narrative journalism, the genre is and has been practiced extensively by journalists across the globe (Keeble & Tulloch, 2012). The Netherlands are among the countries in which narrative journalism appears to be gaining momentum, as will be outlined in the following section.

1.3 Narrative Journalism in the Netherlands

At first sight, and in comparison with the United States, the narrative tradition appears less strong in Dutch journalism. Two studies have nevertheless shown that storytelling formats are in fact firmly

entrenched in the Dutch journalistic landscape. Dingemanse and De Graaf (2011) studied Dutch pamphlets published between 1600 and 1900, which can be seen as the precursors of modern newspapers. Their study showed that the authors of these pamphlets often employed narrative techniques, including dialogues and *writing to the moment*, intended to add a sense of immediacy to the described events. These techniques were later taken over by journalists writing for newspapers. Dingemanse and De Graaf (2011) therefore conclude that pamphlets can be considered a prototypical form of Dutch narrative journalism.

In addition, Van Krieken and Sanders (2016b) studied a corpus of Dutch newspaper articles published between 1850 and 1939 and found that less than a third of these articles were written in an inverted pyramid structure, in which the most recent and newsworthy information is provided first, followed by the elaboration of less recent information (e.g., Pöttker, 2003). The majority of the articles in the corpus were written in a narrative format with a predominantly chronological ordering of events. Moreover, the use of viewpoint techniques was frequent across the corpus articles. Both of these studies thus indicate that early Dutch journalism, much like early American journalism, functioned on narrative grounds, although Dutch narrative journalism did not develop into a full-fledged and recognizable genre analogous to the American *New Journalism* movement.

But around the end of the twentieth century, Dutch journalists became increasingly interested in exploring the possibilities of narrative techniques (Mak, 1998). The professional interest in narrative journalism has continued to grow ever since. Recently, the potential of the genre has even attracted political attention. In January 2016, the weekly magazine *De Groene Amsterdammer* published a lengthy narrative about a current social issue at Dutch secondary schools: radicalization among students and the tensions it effectuates between different social and religious groups (Kleijwegt, 2016). The Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (OCW) had asked

the journalist to write a story about experiences of teachers and students. In a radio interview, the journalist explained that the minister believed a journalistic story would provide more in-depth insights into this growing social problem than a factual report with statistics and policy consequences would be capable of (Kleijwegt, February 3, 2016).

Further indications of the increased interest in storytelling include the publication of the first Dutch handbook of narrative journalism (Blanken & De Jong, 2014), the founding of the Initiative Narrative Journalism Netherlands in 2010[3], and the introduction of courses on storytelling into the curricula of Dutch journalism programs. All of these initiatives aim to stimulate the use of narrative techniques among journalists, editors, and students and to develop narrative journalism into a full-blown genre. In this process, narrative journalism is often promoted as a "new" genre. The first aim of the present thesis is to examine the motivations underlying this promotional tactic and how and with which goals narrative journalism is currently being practiced in the Netherlands.

1.4 Form and Function of News Narratives

The second aim of this thesis is to closely examine the relation between the form and function of news narratives. Whereas Tom Wolfe's experiments with narrative techniques were intended to "excite the reader", present-day journalistic narratives are often ascribed a multitude of functions. News narratives are, for instance, thought of as being able to assign meaning to complex situations (Bird & Dardenne, 2009). They offer "context to help readers understand what they already know took place" (Singer, 2010: 94) and "models which help us understand reality, other people and ourselves" (Ekström, 2000: 474). It has even been argued that news narratives

[3] Stichting Verhalende Journalistiek Nederland; www.verhalendejournalistiek.nl.

guide the ordering and memorizing of events and, as such, contribute to the development of cultural memory (Brockmeier, 2002; Moritz & Crapanzano, 2010).

The question of how storytelling deepens the public's understanding of reality has been addressed most notably in the context of crime news coverage. Criminal events are, in fact, among the most likely topics to be written in a narrative style, especially if they contain "tragic, sensational or unusual elements" (Johnston & Graham, 2012: 523). This might be explained by the fact that criminal acts are by nature disturbing, extraordinary events which most people have no personal experience with. Like fictional narratives, news narratives provide their readers with experiences of characters they can relate to, thus making it easier to form a mental image of the described events and gain a clearer understanding of their causes and consequences (see Schudson, 2003: 177-193).

From this perspective, it is not surprising that a relatively large number of studies on narrative journalism focus on news stories about criminal or terrorist acts. These studies typically take a social or cultural approach to news narratives and examine how these stories facilitate the audience's understanding and imagination of disturbing criminal acts (e.g., Berkowitz, 2010; Peelo, 2005). In doing so, most analytical studies examine the use of frames and archetypes in the news coverage of criminal acts. Kitch (2003), for instance, studied the coverage of the events of 9/11 in American newspapers and found that storytelling approaches helped build an inclusive narrative that resembled all stages of a funeral ceremony: from separation to transformation, resulting in aggregation. By placing the incomprehensible attacks into these frames which are deeply rooted in the American culture, journalists were able to assign meaning to them and turn them into a story of resilience and progress (Kitch, 2003).

Similar accounts of journalistic narratives have been offered in studies examining the mythical archetypes they evoke through descriptions of the news actors. Lule (2001) argues that news actors are often portrayed in such a way that they fit one of the following

archetypes: The Victim, The Scapegoat, The Hero, The Good Mother, or The Trickster. Many studies have shown that crime news narratives indeed revolve around these and other archetypes (e.g., Barnett, 2005, 2006; Sternadori, 2014; Berkowitz, 2005, 2010; Nossek & Berkowitz, 2006; Lule, 2002). By evoking these archetypes, journalists "offer stories that shape and maintain and exclude and deny important societal ideas and beliefs" (Lule, 2001: 21). Studies on frames and archetypes generally consider such narratives to be overarching stories that emerge out of the multitude of framing devices used in a collection of news articles on a specific topic or case, giving expression to societal processes of meaning construction (see Nossek & Berkowitz, 2006). These studies thus provide insight into the function of so-called meta-narratives and how these narratives are formed through journalistic practices, but leave questions about the forms and functions of individual news narratives unanswered.

In a plea for the micro-analysis of crime news narratives, Peelo (2006: 163) argues that these stories can evoke in readers an experience which she refers to as a *mediated witness experience:*

> 'Mediated witness' is the paradoxical phenomenon of *virtual* experience in which detail about a homicide is communicated in a way that engages us personally and emotionally on the side of those who are hurt. As witnesses to the drama, we are invited to focus our attention on and emotionally align ourselves with victims, co-victims and survivors of homicide.

A mediated witness experience can be induced by the techniques of defamiliarization and objectification. Defamiliarization is a technique which relates unfamiliar, shocking events to familiar, everyday events, thus bringing them closer to personal experience. Objectification involves the use of one criminal act as a symbol for society's dangers and decay, which is personally relevant to all members of that society. These techniques are thought to elicit strong emotions in readers, thus

causing them to become more fully involved in the described events (Peelo, 2006).

The present thesis aims to take the analysis of news narratives one level further by examining how their language use enables readers to virtually experience criminal acts from up close. For a mediated witness experience to occur, it requires readers to take the viewpoint of actual witnesses to such acts. In order to experience what these witnesses saw, felt, and thought, readers must be provided with these persons' perceptions, feelings, and thoughts. Following this line of thought, the way in which the viewpoints of witnesses are represented in news narratives is crucial to the readers' sense of being a mediated witness to the described events. This thesis therefore focuses on the linguistic manifestation of viewpoint in crime news narratives. It builds on narratological and linguistic approaches to viewpoint in narrative discourse, which will be discussed in the following section.

1.5 Viewpoint in Narrative Discourse

1.5.1 Narratological Approaches to Viewpoint

The notion of viewpoint has been discussed extensively in literary theory. One of the most influential discussions of viewpoint is Genette's (1980), who urged for a distinction between the agent who tells the story (the narrator) and the character who sees and experiences the story's events (the focalizer). A story can be narrated, first, from the external viewpoint of the narrator, in which case readers are presented with the actions and utterances of the character but remain in ignorance about the character's inner life. This mode resembles the way in which we perceive others in the real world: we can see what they do and hear what they say, but we are unaware of what goes on in their minds. Second, a story can be narrated from an internal viewpoint, in which case readers are presented not only with

the actions and utterances of the character, but also with that character's thoughts, feelings, and perceptions. In this mode, the narrative events are related through the eyes and mind of the character.

Berning (2011) used the classifications provided by Genette (1980) to examine the use of viewpoint and other narrative techniques in a corpus of journalistic narratives. The corpus included 25 German prize-winning and nominated reportages about persons, events, and social milieus. Results showed that in most of these stories the events are told in a non-chronological order and interior monologues are used to portray the viewpoints of people involved. From these results, Berning (2011) concludes that narrative journalism shows strong resemblances to literary fiction.

Although Berning's (2011) study has provided valuable insights into the use of storytelling techniques in journalistic stories, it also gives rise to further in-depth examinations. For instance, in analyzing event orderings, Berning (2011) classified stories as either "non-chronological" or "chronological". Journalistic stories are, however, rarely told in a completely chronological fashion; rather, they are characterized by a cyclical structure in which events are repeatedly narrated in a discontinuous fashion (Bell, 1991). In addition, narratives can describe events in many different non-chronological orderings, and different orderings lead to different reading experiences (Brewer & Lichtenstein, 1981, 1982; Hoeken & van Vliet, 2000; Knobloch, Patzig, Mende, & Hastall, 2004). Classifying news stories as either non-chronologically structured or chronologically structured may therefore not result in a thorough understanding of the relation between their form and function.

Crucially, the concept of viewpoint seems equally hard to apply to the level of complete stories. Genette (1980) stresses the fact that the type of viewpoint may vary across narrative sections, such that sections with an internal viewpoint (*internal focalization*) may alternate with sections with an external viewpoint (*external focalization*). By electing the narrative as analytical entity, Berning's

(2011) analysis produces equivocal results with respect to viewpoint representation: on a global level, she finds that they are all characterized by external viewpoint and that articles with an internal viewpoint are inexistent. However, she also finds that verbs of perception and free indirect discourse, generally taken as linguistic expressions of an internal viewpoint (e.g., Farner, 2014), are not uncommon in the articles in her corpus. These paradoxical findings call for more fine-grained analyses of viewpoint in news narratives. Cognitive linguistic frameworks allow for such analyses, as will be explained below.

1.5.2 Linguistic Approaches to Viewpoint

In-depth analyses of the linguistic manifestation of narrative techniques in news narratives can further advance our understanding of the relation between their form and function, and more specifically of how these narratives enable readers to virtually experience news events from up close. Such analyses are in particular crucial with respect to the broad spectrum of viewpoint representation techniques which can be realized through an even broader spectrum of linguistic phenomena. For instance, a narrative can represent a character's spatial viewpoint, psychological viewpoint, and/or phraseological viewpoint (Farner, 2014; Uspensky, 1973). These various aspects of viewpoint are realized by a diversity of linguistic phenomena. A character's spatial viewpoint can be signaled by verbs of seeing, for example, but also by the use of indefinite noun phrases to refer to entities that are known to narrator and reader but unknown to the character (Sanders & Redeker, 1993). Similarly, a character's psychological viewpoint can be signaled by verbs of cognition or epistemic modality, but also by thought reports (e.g., Farner, 2014; Sanford & Emmott, 2012). A thorough study of viewpoint

representations in news narratives thus requires a study of the linguistic manifestation of these representations.

1.5.2.1 Viewpoint in Cognitive Linguistics

Research in cognitive linguistics has developed frameworks to account for the wide variety of viewpoint phenomena in spoken and written discourse. In Langacker's (1987a) conception, viewpoint has two aspects: vantage point and orientation. The vantage point is the point from which something is represented and the orientation is the resulting representation of objects or scenes from that point. A vantage point is expressed by the choice of semantic or syntactic encoding of a scenario, in particular when alternative encodings are available (see also Fillmore, 1997; Kuno, 1987). For example, in the sentence *John went into the room*, the vantage point is located outside the room, but in the sentence *John came into the room*, the vantage point is located inside the room. The resulting representation (orientation) differs for the two sentences, which can be clarified by comparing the vantage point to a camera which captures the outside of the room in the first sentence but the inside of the room in the second sentence. Viewpoint, in this conception, thus implies a restricted – because personalized – field of spatial representation.

Sanders and Redeker (1996: 293) also discuss viewpoint in relation to restriction when stating that viewpoint "restricts the validity of the presented information to a particular subject (person) in the discourse". Mental Space Theory (Fauconnier, 1985) offers a framework to account for such validity restrictions in terms of *embedded mental spaces*. Mental spaces are conceptual domains that are set up and linked to one another by linguistic elements with the effect "to create a network of spaces through which we move as discourse unfolds" (Sweetser & Fauconnier, 1996: 11). This network consists of a Basic Space, representing the speaker's reality and

viewpoint, and embedded spaces, which may represent the viewpoints of persons other than the speaker. Embedded spaces are opened up by linguistic elements, so-called space builders. For example, in the sentence *John believes Los Angeles is the capital of California*, the verb *believes* builds an embedded space such that the information in the predicate is valid within that embedded space but not in the Basic Space. The information is, in other words, valid from John's viewpoint but not necessarily from the speaker's viewpoint.

Viewpoint spaces can be embedded by a wide variety of linguistic elements, including modal verbs, deictic adverbs, speech and thought reports, verbs of perception and cognition, and opinion indicators (e.g., Sanders & Redeker, 1996; Sanders & Spooren, 1997). Mental Space Theory not only accounts for these various linguistic manifestations of viewpoint and their consequences for the validity of the information presented, but also explains how these manifestations guide people's understanding of discourse by prompting the mental construction of conceptual domains which are then linked to a particular viewpoint and/or to a particular spatial, temporal or hypothetical situation (Sanders, 1994). Discourse processing is in this view primarily a cognitive affair rather than a matter of establishing mappings between language and reality (cf. Verhagen, 2007). Mental Space Theory thus offers a model for the linguistic analysis of viewpoint phenomena in discourse from which expectations can be derived as to how readers mentally process this discourse. In narrative discourse, a large part of this processing entails the alignment between the viewpoints of narrator, character, and reader. This will be explained below.

1.5.2.2 Linguistic Viewpoint in Narratives

In recent years, cognitive approaches to narratives have been concerned with questions of how people understand narratives, how

they mentally represent narrative worlds, and how narrative processing is guided by linguistic features (e.g., Herman, 2009; Bernaerts, De Geest, Herman, & Vervaeck, 2013). Cognitive linguistic conceptions of viewpoint are central to these approaches as they help explain how the linguistic manifestation of viewpoint both adds to the construction of narrative realities and guides the reader's cognitive representation of these realities. Dancygier (2008a, 2008b), for instance, posits that story construction progresses through series of mental space embeddings by means of linguistic cues as varied as pronouns and thought reports (see also Dancygier, 2005, 2006; Dancygier & Vandelanotte, 2009). These linguistic cues negotiate the conceptual distance between the viewpoints of narrator and character and, consequently, the viewpoint of the reader.

This idea may be clarified by Langacker's (1985, 1987a) metaphor of discourse as a Stage Model in which the speaker (narrator) and addressee (reader) are off-stage audience members watching on-stage participants (characters) performing a play. The distance between the off-stage region and the on-stage region maps onto the distance between the viewpoints of narrator and reader on the one hand and the viewpoint of the character on the other (see also Van Hoek, 2007). This distance is regulated by linguistic structures and defines the *viewing frame* which demarcates the construal of the on-stage scene (Langacker, 1991: 498-499).

Dancygier (2012a) discusses several linguistic parameters which regulate the alignment between the viewpoints of narrator, character, and reader in narrative discourse. One of these parameters is choice of tense. As Dancygier (2012a) argues, the past tense creates temporal distance between the here and now viewpoints of narrator and reader on the one hand and the viewpoint of the character on the other, whereas the present tense reduces this distance. In other words, the viewpoints of narrator, character, and reader are in present tense narratives aligned along the temporal dimension.

A second parameter is what Dancygier (2012a: 75) refers to as "the profiling of Ego-viewpoint", a process which occurs when the

viewpoint of a character is embedded and the narrative events are (temporarily or continuously) related through this viewpoint. In journalistic discourse, the embedding of a character's viewpoint is typically realized by representation of that character's speech or thought in the direct, indirect, free indirect, or distancing indirect mode (Sanders & Redeker, 1996; Vandelanotte, 2004b):

Direct	"I heard someone knocking on the door," John said.
Indirect	John said that he heard someone knocking on the door.
Free indirect	Well yes, he now surely heard someone knocking on the door!
Distancing indirect	John heard someone knocking on the door, he said.

Alternatively, references to a character's cognitive, emotional or perceptual state create an embedded viewpoint without representing any speech or thought (Sanders & Redeker, 1993). Such *implicit viewpoints* are established by verbs of perception (*see*), cognition (*think*), emotion (*enjoy*), modality (*must*), evaluation (*like*), and opinion indicators (*according to*), among other linguistic expressions (Sanders, 2010).

The different strategies to embed viewpoints signal different degrees of viewpoint compression (Dancygier, 2012a). The mechanism of viewpoint compression, also known as *blending* (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002) or *intertwining* (Sanders, 2010), integrates aspects of different mental spaces into a new conceptual domain. Speech and thought representations in the free indirect mode and implicit viewpoints signal an intertwining of viewpoints such that the responsibility for the information must be attributed to a viewpoint space shared by journalist and character (Sanders & Redeker, 1996; Sanders, 2010). In speech and thought representations in the direct

mode, by contrast, the viewpoints of journalist and character are fully separated and the responsibility for the validity of the information is attributed exclusively to the character. In speech and thought representations in the indirect mode, this responsibility is shared by the character, who is responsible for the content of the information, and the narrator, who is (at least partly) responsible for the verbalization of that information.

Although viewpoint intertwining is typically associated with fictional narratives, Sanders (2010) showed that both the embedding and blending of viewpoints can occur in the journalistic genre of news narratives. Specifically, a close analysis of a news narrative about the murder of four children revealed that the journalist embedded the mental spaces of various people involved in order to provide a lively account of the act from several alternative viewpoints. In addition, free indirect discourse and implicit viewpoints were employed to blend the viewpoints of journalist and news sources. Sanders (2010: 243) argues that these viewpoint representations "provide more insight into the perceptions, conceptions, and motivations of other sources than the journalist". This may increase readers' empathy and identification with people directly involved in news events.

The present thesis builds on the above studies to examine how viewpoint phenomena in news narratives enable readers to vicariously experience news events from up close within the boundaries set by the genre.

1.6 Diachronic Developments in Narrative News Discourse

This thesis furthermore aims to situate the study of news narratives in a broad historical context by examining diachronic developments in the use of viewpoint techniques. Over the past fifteen years, several tentative claims have been made about developments in narrative news discourse. Kramer (2000), for instance, noted a shift towards

narrative writing in American newspapers while admitting that this shift had yet to be examined in an empirical, quantitative way. A similar observation was made by Hartsock (2007: 258), who wrote about "an increasing number of newspaper journalists" embracing the narrative form. He finds evidence for this claim in the relatively high number of narratives that were awarded a Pulitzer Prize between 1994 and 2004. Shim (2014: 78) argued that narratives are becoming more and more dominant in contemporary newsrooms, thus suppressing the role of the inverted pyramid as "the citadel of the standard news format". Finally, Shapiro (2006) acknowledged that newspaper narratives are by no means a recent innovation, but argued that the role of storytelling in journalism is expanding.

Few studies have attempted to systematically investigate claims about the increase in newspaper narratives, however. Weldon (2008) compared the number of stories (versus hard news articles) appearing on American front pages between the year 2001 and the year 2004. Her corpus included 160 front pages published in twenty different newspapers. The results indicated that the percentage of stories had increased from 35% in 2001 to 50% in 2004. Weldon (2008: 35) thus concludes that "what newspapers present on the front page now is much more often a feature story or a narrative approach to hard news". However, a closer look at the methodology of her study suggests that this conclusion might be somewhat overstated. Articles were classified as stories if they covered events that were not highly newsworthy, i.e., events that did not happen the day before, and, as such, did not meet the essential news criterion of recency (e.g., Bell, 1991; O'Neill & Harcup, 2009). Articles that did report upon recent, newsworthy events were classified as hard news articles. This classification is thus based on the level of recency as crucial news value rather than formal or stylistic criteria indicative of an article's degree of narrativity. The results of Weldon's (2008) study do therefore not allow for any conclusive statements about the supposed increase in narratives. If anything, they indicate an increase in the publication of articles about not very recently occurred events, which

might be explained by a growing need for newspapers to provide background and context to news facts which are already known by the audience through its 24/7 access to on-line media.

Johnston and Graham (2012) compared the number of inverted pyramid articles, narrative articles, and hybrid forms in a corpus of 5,000 Australian newspaper articles published in the years 2007 and 2009. Their results indicated that the percentage of narratives had decreased while the percentage of hybrid articles had increased. Comparing their results to the results of Weldon's (2008) study, Johnston and Graham (2012: 530) conclude that "Australia has not embraced narrative news writing in the same way as the North Americans". Their results are hardly comparable to those of Weldon (2008), however, because of considerable differences in their respective operationalization of news narratives. Whereas Weldon (2008) used content as a criterion, Johnston and Graham (2012: 522) relied on stylistic criteria and classified articles as narratives if they

> […] began with a non-summary or feature lead, tended to set a scene, time-line or introduce a character at the start, employed either conversational or informal storytelling approaches and descriptive word choices, used storytelling writing devices such as description, scene-setting, place or time reconstruction, character development.

These criteria are rather vague, which makes it difficult to fully appreciate the study's results. It is unclear, for instance, what exactly is meant by "conversational or informal storytelling approaches" or "place or time reconstruction".

A complicating issue is that in both studies, the news text was chosen as the unit of analysis. This approach seems to exclude the possibility that news texts may vary in number and type of narrative features. Johnston and Graham (2012) did include a "hybrid category" to account for articles that showed both elements of news narratives

and non-narrative news articles, but again, the classification criteria are rather opaque. Articles were classified as hybrid articles if they "began with a narrative style lead and used storytelling approaches for several paragraphs, then moved back to the more traditional information-based approach" (Johnston & Graham, 2012: 522). It remains unclear what exactly marked the difference between narratives and hybrids, which raises the question whether the various categories were mutually exclusive.

In sum, the studies discussed above analyzed news narratives in rather broad categories and covered relatively short time spans. In order to arrive at a better understanding of developments in narrative journalism, its study should be placed in a broad historical framework (N. Sims, 2009). The present thesis therefore sets out to examine how the genre of news narratives has evolved over the past 150 years. Rather than analyzing the relative number of narrative and non-narrative articles, it will be studied how the use of viewpoint representation techniques has developed over time within the genre of news narratives. This approach is informed by the fact that viewpoint phenomena are ubiquitous in any type of discourse (Sanders & Redeker, 1996) as well as the finding that even inverted pyramid articles feature viewpoint representations (Van Krieken & Sanders, 2016b). This might explain Johnston and Graham's (2012) broad categorization of inverted pyramid articles and narrative articles and their inclusion of a third, hybrid category. Examining viewpoint representations within the genre of news narratives allows for more fine-grained analyses through which historical developments in the form and function of the genre can be illuminated.

1.7 Impact of News Narratives

The final aim of this thesis is to examine the impact of news narratives on the audience. Previous studies have shown positive effects of news

narratives on readers' evaluation (Knobloch et al., 2004; Sanders & Redeker, 1993), physical arousal (Donohew, 1981, 1982) and comprehension (Emde, Klimmt, & Schluetz, 2016). The effects of narratives have been studied more extensively in a broad range of alternative disciplines, ranging from health communication (e.g., McQueen, Kreuter, Kalesan, & Alcaraz, 2011) to advertising (e.g., Escalas, 2004) and from psychology (e.g., Crossley, 2000) to law (e.g., Brooks, 2002). Many of these studies consistently show that narratives are persuasive: they affect the audience's opinions, attitudes, beliefs, and behavioral intentions (see Braddock & Dillard, 2016 for meta-analyses). This persuasive power has been explained by the influence narratives exert on readers' engagement with the narrative.

1.7.1 Transportation

Several models have been proposed to explain the persuasive effects of narratives, of which the Transportation-Imagery Model (Green & Brock, 2000, 2002) is probably the best known. In their seminal article on narrative persuasion, Green and Brock (2000) demonstrate how immersion into a story world, a concept which they label *transportation*, plays an important role in the persuasive power of narratives. Their conceptualization of transportation relies on the metaphoric description provided by Gerrig (1993: 10-11), who thought of this experience as a journey undertaken by the reader to "some distance from his or her world of origin, which makes some aspects of the world of origin inaccessible". Green and Brock (2000: 701) define transportation as "a distinct mental process, an integrative melding of attention, imagery, and feelings" and as "a convergent process, where all mental systems and capacities become focused on events occurring in the narrative". This process involves a loss of access to the real world, which facilitates readers' acceptance of facts

that are true in the narrative world but do not necessarily hold in the real world and makes readers prone to adopt the beliefs and attitudes that are advocated by the narrative characters but do not necessarily match their own prior beliefs and attitudes.

To assess the role of transportation in narrative persuasion, Green and Brock (2000) first developed and validated an 11-item scale to capture readers' attention to the story, their emotional involvement, their mental imagery, their feelings of suspense, and their loss of awareness of their physical surroundings. In a subsequent series of experiments, participants read a narrative about the murder of a little girl by a psychiatric patient on leave. Then they completed the transportation scale and indicated their agreement with statements measuring their beliefs and their evaluations of the characters. The results showed that readers who were more strongly transported into the narrative reported more story-consistent beliefs and evaluated protagonists more positively than readers who were less transported. Specifically, readers who were more strongly transported felt more strongly that the freedom of psychiatric patients should be restricted.

After its introduction in 2000, the Transportation Scale has been used extensively in studies on reading experiences and narrative persuasion (e.g., Mazzocco, Green, Sasota, & Jones, 2010; Murphy, Frank, Chatterjee, & Baezconde-Garbanati, 2013; B. K. Johnson & Rosenbaum, 2014; D. R. Johnson, 2012). In the context of journalism, Oliver et al. (2012) used the Transportation Scale in a study on the persuasive effects of news narratives. They presented participants with news articles describing health care dilemmas for stigmatized groups (immigrants, prisoners, elderly persons). For each article, a non-narrative and a narrative version were created. In the non-narrative versions, the health care issue was presented in relation to policy issues and included expert quotes. In the narrative versions, the issue was presented through the experiences of a specific person. After reading one of the non-narrative or narrative articles, participants' transportation into the story world, their compassionate reactions, empathic attitudes, intentions to help the target group, and information

seeking behavior were measured. The results showed that the narrative versions led to more positive empathic attitudes, an effect which was mediated by higher compassion. Empathic attitudes in turn influenced participants' intentions to help the target group, which in turn influenced their information seeking behavior. The narrative versions also led to higher transportation; and transportation was positively related to both compassion and behavioral intentions. From this study, it thus appears that narrative news articles are more engaging and persuasive than non-narrative news articles.

In another study, Shen, Ahern, and Baker (2014) examined the impact of news narratives in the context of shale gas drilling. They presented participants with either a narrative or an informational news article about this issue. The narrative version revolved around a family affected by shale gas drilling and was written in a chronological order. The informational version listed results from scientific studies about shale gas drilling and had an inverted pyramid structure. Compared to participants who read the informational article, participants who read the narrative article reported more empathy, more story-consistent cognitive responses related to gas drilling, higher levels of transportation, and less favorable attitudes towards gas drilling. The effect on attitudes was mediated by empathy and cognitive responses, but not by transportation.

The two studies discussed above indicate that narrative news articles are more persuasive than non-narrative news articles, but the persuasive effects were in only one of the studies explained by readers' transportation into the narrative world. These mixed results might be (partially) explained by their use of Green and Brock's (2000) Transportation Scale. The 11 items of this scale are considered to constitute a unidimensional scale, but several analyses have shown that the scale actually consists of multiple dimensions (e.g., Slater, Rouner, & Long, 2006; Oliver et al., 2012). This multiplicity corresponds with the idea that immersion into a story is a rather complex process with both emotional and cognitive components. In addition, this process can take different forms. Oatley (1999), for

instance, distinguishes between two different positions people can take while reading or watching a story. First, people can experience the story events as a *spectator* who is present in the story world as an "unobserved observer". This position is characterized by passivity. Second, through *identification* people can experience the story events through the mind and eyes of one of the characters. This position requires more activity in the sense that people adopt that character's viewpoint and goals.

Similarly, Boyd (2009: 157-158) describes how readers can either take an observer or a field position when reading a narrative. Readers in an observer position perceive the narrative events and characters from an external viewpoint, whereas readers in a field position experience the events from the internal viewpoint of a character (cf. Nigro and Neisser, 1983). The Transportation Scale is incapable of distinguishing between these different types of reading experiences. Using this scale may therefore not provide us with a thorough understanding of the nature of being engaged with a narrative and its characters. In examining the impact of news narratives, the present thesis therefore relies on the multidimensional concept of *narrative engagement*.

1.7.2 Narrative Engagement

Busselle and Bilandzic (2009) have introduced the concept of narrative engagement to capture the various sensations people can experience while reading a narrative. They identify four distinct dimensions of narrative engagement. The first dimension is labeled *narrative presence* and refers to the reader's experience of leaving the actual world and entering the narrative world. This phenomenological experience involves a *deictic shift*, which means that any references to the environmental situation (i.e., references to persons, time, and place) are no longer interpreted in relation to the real world here and

now, but in relation to the here and now of the narrative world (Segal, 1995). Readers thus "shift their deictic center from the real-world situation to an image of themselves at a location within the story world" (Segal, 1995: 15).

The second dimension, *emotional engagement*, refers to both the emotional alignment with a narrative's character and the emotions evoked by that narrative. This dimension shares some similarities with the notion of identification. Although there are many different conceptualizations of identification (see Cohen, 2001; Barker, 2005; Brown, 2015), it is generally understood as a cognitive process in which the reader adopts the emotions as well as the perceptual and psychological viewpoint of a character and both experiences and understands the narrative events from this character's viewpoint (cf. Moyer-Gusé, 2015). At the most fundamental level, identification thus entails seeing and hearing the narrative events through a character's eyes and ears.

Attentional focus is the third dimension which denotes an intense concentration on the narrative. This dimension refers to a state in which readers forget about their physical surroundings and are undistracted by events occurring in the real world, an experience commonly known as "getting lost" in a story (Nell, 1988). As Busselle and Bilandzic (2009) argue, this state of intense focus remains unnoticed until readers become distracted and need to refocus their attention to the story.

The fourth dimension, *narrative understanding*, refers to the reader's understanding of the narrative and its events. In contrast with the other three dimensions, narrative understanding does not actively contribute to narrative engagement. Instead, a lack of narrative understanding is argued to have a negative effect on readers' engagement. If readers fail to understand, for instance, how events are related to each other, their engagement with the narrative will be disrupted.

As discussed in section 1.4, news narratives about criminal acts are thought to put readers in the position of mediated witnesses to

these acts (Peelo, 2006). A mediated witness experience is believed to consist of two dimensions: the virtual experience of a crime from up close and the emotional alignment with eyewitnesses to that crime. This conceptualization corresponds to the conceptualization of narrative engagement as a multidimensional experience. It also corresponds to results of empirical studies confirming that readers' engagement with a narrative is indeed multifaceted. Narrative presence, identification, emotions, and attentional focus are typically found to be unique dimensions of this experience (e.g., De Graaf, Hoeken, Sanders, & Beentjes, 2009, 2012). The present thesis therefore examines the effects of news narratives on various dimensions of readers' engagement in order to test the hypothesis that these narratives allow readers to experience criminal events as mediated witnesses.

1.8 Overview of this Thesis

This thesis focuses on the interplay between the form, function, and impact of journalistic crime narratives. The above literature review discussed how these narratives are argued to create a virtual experience in which readers identify with eyewitnesses to the described crime and vicariously observe the crime from up close, as mediated witnesses. It is yet unclear, however, *how* crime news narratives try to create this experience and to what extent readers of these narratives indeed experience the described events as mediated witnesses. Adopting a multi-method approach, the present thesis therefore aims to examine how language is used in news narratives to reconstruct criminal events from the viewpoints of people involved, the function of this language use, and its impact on the reader. To attain these aims, five research questions are formulated which are addressed in the following five chapters.

Chapter 2 addresses the question as to how and with which goals the genre of narrative journalism is currently being practiced and promoted in the Netherlands. This chapter reports upon an interview study with journalists and lecturers in journalism programs on their attempts to promote the use of narrative techniques among Dutch journalists, editors, and students. By examining how narrative journalism is framed by professionals, this chapter sets out to uncover why it is in recent years being promoted as a "new" genre. The results of this study provide insight into the ascribed functions of news narratives and their presumed impact on the audience.

Chapters 3 to 5 examine the linguistic manifestations of viewpoint in news narratives. Chapter 3 addresses the question as to how grammar and reference are used in crime news narratives to represent the viewpoints of eyewitnesses to the described events. American and Dutch news narratives and non-narrative news reports are analyzed on choices of grammatical subject and referential expression. The results reveal differences between the narratives and the non-narrative reports, indicating that grammatical roles and referential expressions function as important viewpoint strategies in news narratives.

Chapter 4 addresses the question how language is used in news narratives to reconstruct criminal events from the viewpoints of eyewitnesses without crossing the boundaries of the genre. A cognitive linguistic model for the analysis of news narratives is developed that accounts for the genre-specific conventions of factuality and legitimization, and in particular for the complex relation between reality and narrative reconstructions of that reality. Application of the model to an American and a Dutch news narrative clarifies the relation between the linguistic form and function of journalistic crime narratives.

Chapter 5 addresses the question how the use of viewpoint techniques in news narratives, specifically discourse reports, has developed over time. To answer this question, the cognitive linguistic model developed in Chapter 4 is applied to a historical corpus of 300

news narratives published between 1860 and 2009. The results reveal how the genre of news narratives has evolved over the past 150 years in terms of viewpoint representations and legitimization of those representations.

Chapter 6 addresses the question to what extent crime news narratives put readers in the position of mediated witnesses to the described events. To answer this question, an experiment is conducted in which a comparison is made between an original news narrative in which a mass shooting is related through the viewpoints of people involved and an original non-narrative news article in which the same shooting is related through the detached viewpoint of the journalist. Results provide insight into the engaging effects of crime news narratives.

Chapter 7 summarizes and integrates the main findings of the various studies. This chapter furthermore discusses the findings in a broad context. Finally, this chapter discusses limitations and directions for future research.

Chapter 2

Framing Narrative Journalism as a New Genre

This chapter has been conditionally accepted for publication as:

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2 Framing Narrative Journalism as a New Genre

Abstract

Although narrative journalism has a long history in the Netherlands, it is in recent years being promoted as a "new" genre. This study examines the motives underlying this promotional tactic. To that end, we analyze how narrative journalism is framed in (1) public expressions of the initiatives aimed at professionalization of the genre and (2) interviews with journalists and lecturers in journalism programs. Results indicate that in public discourse on narrative journalism, the genre is framed as *moving*, *essential*, and as *high quality journalism*. These frames indicate that the current promotion of narrative journalism as "new" can be seen as a strategy journalists apply to withstand the pressures they are facing in the competition with new media. These frames are deepened in the interviews with lecturers and practitioners, who frame narrative journalism as a *dangerous game*, a *paradigm shift*, and as *the Holy Grail*. These frames indicate that narrative journalism is regarded as the highest achievable goal for journalists, but that its practice comes with dangers and risks: it tempts journalists to abandon the traditional principles of objectivity and factuality, which can ultimately cause journalism to lose its credibility and authority. We discuss these findings in terms of *boundary work* and reflect on implications for narrative journalism's societal function.

2.1 Introduction

The professional interest in narrative journalism has expanded notably over the past years (Ray, 2013). An often mentioned reason for the increased popularity of journalistic storytelling is the ongoing decline in newspaper circulation (Hartsock, 2007; Shim, 2014). Shim (2014: 79/90), for instance, argues that "the rise of narrative journalism should be understood in the perspective of the hierarchical relationship between the journalistic paradigm and market ideology" and that "narrative journalism has been propagated to rejuvenate the declining paper business in the contemporary media market." This contemporary media market, characterized by the 24-hour access to news through online media, forces journalism to undergo far-reaching transitions in which existing boundaries dissolve (McNair, 2009). For newspapers in particular, simply providing news is no longer sufficient to compete with the plethora of new media. Narrative journalism is seen as an important promise for the future of print journalism for its capacity to cross traditional boundaries and fulfill additional, distinctive functions (e.g., Neveu, 2014; Joseph, 2010; Merljak Zdovc, 2009).

A crucial characteristic in this respect is the ascribed power of news narratives to attract and maintain readers because narrative is the dominant mode of communication in social life (e.g., Gottschall, 2012; Boyd, 2009; Niles, 2010). We should be able to effortlessly relate to news narratives because they resemble the stories we encounter on a daily basis from childhood on, ranging from bedtime stories to soap operas and from movies to popular songs. The use of narratives in journalism is, in other words, "culturally resonant" for the audience (Berkowitz, 2005: 608). In addition, narrative journalism is said to "transform its readers into travelers in the backstage of the social world" (Neveu, 2014: 538), allowing them to virtually experience otherwise distant events from up close (Peelo, 2006). Compared to traditional journalism, narrative journalism thus actively engages its readers.

This engaging function is then explanatory for and essential to narrative journalism's supposed ability to increase the audience's understanding of events which disrupt the functioning of society, such as high-impact criminal acts (Peelo, 2006). News narratives are culturally resonant in that they "offer models which help us understand reality, other people and ourselves" (Ekström, 2000: 474). In this line of reasoning, Bird and Dardenne (2009) argue that news narratives are able to assign meaning to complex situations and Singer (2010: 94) states that news narratives "help readers understand what they already know took place". Compared to traditional journalism, narrative journalism thus has the capacity to provide a meaningful context to news events and situations. By engaging readers and providing a richer context to news events, narrative journalism might be a valuable addition to traditional journalism and increase its overall salience.

The present study focuses on the practice of narrative journalism in the Netherlands. Since the end of the twentieth century, Dutch journalists are increasingly interested in exploring the possibilities of narrative techniques (Mak, 1998). This explicit interest has continued to grow, resulting in recent attempts to develop narrative journalism into a full-fledged, flourishing genre. The aim of this study is to examine how this professionalization process is framed in various initiatives promoting the genre and, drawing on interviews with active proponents of narrative journalism, the motivations for and consequences of this pursuit.

2.1.1 Research on Narrative Journalism

There are various strands of research on narrative journalism. One strand of research is concerned with the forms and functions of narrative journalism. Textual analyses typically focus on the use and form of storytelling techniques in news texts, such as anecdotal leads,

point-of-view writing, and emotive appeals (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013a; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013b; Berning, 2011; Van Krieken, Sanders, & Hoeken, 2015, 2016). Experimental studies typically focus on the effects of such techniques on the audience's engagement with news texts (Shen et al., 2014; Van Krieken, Hoeken, & Sanders, 2015; Oliver et al., 2012). A consistent finding across these studies is that the use of narrative techniques in news texts positively influences readers' involvement.

A more culturally based strand of research focuses on news narratives as myths and how these myths help us understand reality in all its complexity. Theoretical accounts of the function of narratives – both fictional and nonfictional – in social life are fundamental to this type of research. The activity of sharing stories is supposed to be a deeply rooted and universal phenomenon enabling humankind to entertain one another, establish group identities, and learn how to act and react in unexpected or dangerous situations (e.g., Niles, 2010; Boyd, 2009). The ubiquity of narratives in social life can often be traced down to essential and highly recognizable narrative patterns that can also be recognized in news narratives: elements of fairy tales or folk stories are not uncommon (e.g., Machill et al., 2007). Folk stories typically narrate on a hero in pursuit of the goal of helping a person in need, while an opponent throws a spanner in the works (Propp, 1958). This structure can be readily applied and adjusted to many kinds of situations and many kinds of audiences.

Elaborating on this analysis, Lule (2001) argues that news narratives often portray the news actors in such a way that they fit one of the following mythical archetypes: The Victim, The Scapegoat, The Hero, The Good Mother, or The Trickster. Various studies have shown that journalistic narratives indeed revolve around these and other archetypes, thereby providing cognitive shortcuts to myths that are deeply rooted in our culture (e.g., Sternadori, 2014; Berkowitz, 2005; Berkowitz, 2010). Such abstractions help us understand reality by providing simplified accounts of highly complex news events; that what seems incomprehensible is being placed in prototypical story

frames we are familiar with. In doing so, news narratives engage us personally and help us to re-establish our understanding of society (Peelo, 2006).

Despite its well-documented capacity to engage readers, narrative journalism remains a hybrid genre. A multitude of labels, which are often used interchangeably, denote highly divergent journalistic texts, including *narrative journalism*, *literary journalism*, *literary non-fiction*, *creative non-fiction*, *factual fiction* and *artistic non-fiction*. Literary journalism is one of the most frequently used labels and may refer to any production at the intersection of literature and journalism, as varied as historical books, first person newspaper narratives and columns, celebrity portraits, biographies, feature stories, and reportages (e.g., Greenberg and Wheelwright, 2014; Joseph, 2015).

The term narrative journalism appears to be primarily associated with newspaper journalism; for instance, most articles of a special issue of *Nieman Reports* on narrative journalism focused on storytelling practices in newspapers (ed. Ludtke, 2000). Not all news articles can be classified as narrative journalism, but it is important to observe, and this was most notably done by Bell (1991), that newspaper articles are in essence stories structured around the same basic elements that have been found to make up oral stories (Labov and Waletzky, 1967). In the present paper, we focus on professional conceptions of narrative journalism and in doing so, we distinguish the genre of narrative journalism from fiction, narrative history, and hard news reporting. The difference between narrative journalism and fiction lies in their relation to truth and reality. Narrative journalism applies the style and techniques of fiction to non-fiction (Kramer, 1995), but unlike fiction, narrative journalism "makes a truth claim to reflecting phenomenal experience" (Hartsock, 1999: 432). The difference between narrative journalism and narrative history lies in the topicality of the issues of interest. Narrative journalism deals with events and situations of the present rather than the past (Kramer, 1995) and is therefore to be distinguished from the genre of narrative

history, in which historical events and people are –most often in book form– portrayed in a story format (see Lepore, 2002). Finally, the difference between narrative journalism and hard news reporting lies in the type of questions addressed as well as the style in which answers are provided. Unlike hard news reporting, which addresses the 'who', 'what', 'where', and 'when' questions in a neutral way with reference to official sources, narrative journalism provides context to these bare facts by addressing the 'how' and 'why' questions (Uko, 2007). These questions are typically answered by describing news events through the eyes and minds of real persons involved in the events, who become characters with whom readers can empathize and identify.

We now zoom in on conceptualizations of narrative journalism in specific professional journalistic cultures. Recent research has examined professional conceptions of narrative journalism in Australia and Slovenia. Joseph (2010) interviewed six leading Australian narrative journalists on their understanding of the genre. The interview data revealed that Australian journalists do not actively debate or talk about the genre, but just practice it. Similarly, in a study on Slovene narrative journalism, Merljak Zdovc (2009: 328) concludes that the publication of journalistic stories "continues to be the result of the enthusiasm of individual journalists and editors who follow the trends in journalistic writing on their own, and not of systematic attempts of newspapers to provide readers with quality writing." These studies thus signal the marginal status of narrative journalism in Australia and Slovenia and advocate a larger role for the genre as it might help newspapers to attract readers in an increasingly competitive media landscape. The present study focuses on narrative journalism in the Netherlands, a country with a rich and well-documented history in journalism.

2.1.2 Narrative Journalism in the Netherlands

Several studies have shown that the use of storytelling techniques is by no means a recent invention in Dutch journalism. A study on Dutch pre-cursors of newspapers –so-called pamphlets– published between 1600 and 1900 showed many narrative techniques in these texts, such as vivid descriptions and dialogues (Dingemanse and De Graaf, 2011). A corpus analysis of Dutch newspaper articles published between 1850 and 1939 furthermore showed that the majority of these articles were written in a narrative structure rather than the traditional news text structure of the inverted pyramid which reveals the most important (often most recent) news event first (Van Krieken & Sanders, 2016b). In another study, the narrative technique of point-of-view writing was examined in a large corpus of Dutch newspaper articles published between 1860 and 2009 (Van Krieken & Sanders, 2016a). The results indicated that this technique was already employed by journalists in the 19th century. In addition, the use of speech and thought reports as a dramatizing technique, mainly by directly quoting news sources, was frequent across the entire period. These studies thus demonstrate that Dutch print journalism is, at least partly, inherently narrative.

Yet, only in recent years has narrative journalism started to gain serious attention of Dutch professional journalists as a genre in itself (Mak, 1998; Smit, 2012). From the new millennium on, courses on narrative journalism entered the curricula of Dutch journalism schools and initiatives were developed to promote the genre among journalists and editors. Some of these initiatives explicitly aim to professionalize narrative journalism and increase its salience.

This raises the question as to why narrative journalism is being conceptualized and promoted as a "new" genre, while storytelling formats in themselves are in fact deeply rooted in Dutch journalism. What, then, is new in the eyes of journalists, how is this new type of journalism established, and what is its function or aim? We address these questions by examining conceptions of narrative journalism in

(1) public expressions of the initiatives aimed at its professionalization as well as educational text books and (2) interviews with journalists and lecturers in journalism programs. Public expressions about narrative journalism can be seen as forms of "metajournalistic discourse", i.e., "a field of discourse that continually constructs meaning around journalism and its larger social place" (Carlson, 2015: 2). It is in this field that journalists establish definitions and boundaries and legitimize their practices. An examination of the metajournalistic discourse on narrative journalism can thus provide more insight into the promotion and positioning of Dutch narrative journalism. The consequences of the current process of professionalization are further examined through interviews with journalists and lecturers who are actively involved in this process.

To examine how narrative journalism is discussed in the public discourse and interviews, we will conduct a framing analysis. In communication research, framing refers to the presentation and definition of issues through processes of exclusion, emphasis, and selection (Gitlin, 1980). Specifically, framing means selecting "some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (Entman, 1993: 52). Framing, in this sense, can be seen as a rhetorical act to persuade others into thinking about an issue from a particular point of view (Kuypers, 2009). A framing analysis of public discourse and interviews about narrative journalism should thus provide insight into professional conceptions of narrative journalism, the motives underlying the current process of professionalization, and how these motives are articulated in order to establish and promote the genre.

2.2 Study

The study was divided into two parts. The first part examined how narrative journalism is framed in various public expressions about the genre. The second part examined how narrative journalism is framed in interviews with journalists and lecturers engaged in promotion of the genre.

2.2.1 Public Expressions

A web and library search for journalism text books published between 1995 and 2015 was conducted. Only books with an educational goal were included and only if their emphasis was on journalistic writing and genres rather than, for instance, on the history of journalism. The search resulted in seven relevant text books.

Also included in the materials were a website and magazine published by the *Initiative Narrative Journalism Netherlands*. This initiative was founded in 2010 and has been actively promoting narrative journalism ever since. The website consists of blog posts on narrative journalism by journalists and researchers, tips and tricks for aspiring narrative journalists, and interviews with established narrative journalists from the Netherlands and abroad. Table 2.1 provides an overview of the materials used to examine public expressions about narrative journalism.

Table 2.1: Overview of Materials

Materials	Type
Journalistic Writing for Newspaper, Professional Journal and New Media (Donkers and Willems, 1999)	Text book
Journalistic Writing for Newspaper and Professional Journal (Donkers and Willems, 2002)	Text book
Writing for Newspaper and Magazine (Gerards and Van Noppen, 2000)	Chapter in text book
Basic Book Journalism: Backgrounds, Genres, Skills (Kussendrager and Van der Lugt, 2007)	Text book
Work Book Journalistic Genres (Bekius, 2012)	Text book
Journalistic Writing for Higher Education (Donkers et al., 2010)	Text book
Handbook Narrative Journalism (Blanken and De Jong, 2014)	Text book
Initiative Narrative Journalism Netherlands (http://www.verhalendejournalistiek.nl/)	Website
Magazine Narrative Journalism (2013)	Magazine (single edition)

2.2.2 Interviews

2.2.2.1 Materials and Participants

Data for the second part of the study was collected through ten in-depth face-to-face interviews with proponents of narrative journalism in the Netherlands (see Appendix 2A for an overview of the interviews). Six of the interviewees were active journalists specialized in narrative forms of print journalism. Four of them were founders

and/or active members of the *Initiative Narrative Journalism Netherlands*; one of them was one of the authors of the *Handbook Narrative Journalism*. The other four interviewees were teaching narrative journalism in journalism programs at various Dutch colleges. Two of them were also authors of narrative nonfiction books. All interviewees actively promoted the use of storytelling techniques in journalism by organizing conferences and workshops on narrative journalism, teaching narrative journalism, and/or producing various forms of narrative journalism.

2.2.2.2 Procedure

An active interview approach (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995) was adopted to allow interviewees to talk about narrative journalism in their own words. In this approach, the interview is seen as a two-way process of meaning construction in which both interviewer and interviewee play an active role. Instead of asking a list of questions, the interviewer's tasks involve "encouraging subjective relevancies, prompting interpretative possibilities, facilitating narrative linkages, suggesting alternative perspectives, and appreciating diverse horizons of meaning" (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995: 78). The interviewees were encouraged to talk freely about their conceptions of narrative journalism and their experiences with producing or teaching narrative journalism. Questions were asked about their views on the potential, stylistic form, functions and presupposed effects of journalistic narratives in comparison to more traditional forms of journalism. In addition, the interviewees were encouraged to reflect on the similarities and differences between narrative journalism and traditional journalism. In accordance with the active interviewing approach (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995), the interviewees were confronted with statements made in earlier interviews to provide them with the opportunity to compare their views with the views of others.

The interviews were held at quiet public places, the interviewee's work environment, or the interviewee's home. The interviewees were informed about the aims of the interview before the interview started. The interviews, which took approximately an hour, were recorded with permission of the interviewees and later transcribed literally.

2.3 Analysis

A framing analysis was conducted to examine the public expressions and interviews about narrative journalism. The analysis of the public expressions was guided by a close examination of language use, since metaphors, analogies, and figures of speech function as indicators of a frame (Van Gorp, 2007). These linguistic expressions have in common that they require an interpretation of concept X (here: narrative journalism) in terms of concept Y; that is, they evoke concept Y and all its attributes as a frame within which to view and understand concept X.

With respect to the interview data, we first identified, in line with Deuze (2005) and Borger et al. (2013), the different topics addressed in the interviewees' talk. In this stage, the transcripts were read integrally several times in order to isolate the parts in which interviewees discussed the genre of narrative journalism and related aspects. Relevant parts were labeled and grouped into topics in the software program *Dedoose*. For instance, all parts in which interviewees talked about the function of narrative journalism were labeled as "Function" and all parts in which they talked about the genre in terms of objectivity and subjectivity were labeled as "Objectivity/subjectivity".

Similar to our analysis of the public expressions, we subsequently analyzed how the various topics were framed by closely examining language use. In this more intensive stage of the analysis,

we established framing relationships between content and form of the interviewees' talk by focusing on metaphors, analogies, and recurring figures of speech. After identifying a given frame, we returned to the transcripts to validate the salience of that frame by searching for additional frame-indications and possible counter-indications. This process was repeated several times in order to arrive at an exhaustive set of relevant frames in which the genre of narrative journalism was discussed.

2.4 Results

2.4.1 Frames in Public Discourse

Firstly, an analysis of the educational text books revealed that narrative journalism is almost nowhere distinguished as a separate genre; most limit their discussion of journalistic genres to news reports, news articles, interviews, reportages, background articles, opinion articles, and book reviews (Donkers and Willems, 1999; Donkers and Willems, 2002; Gerards and Van Noppen, 2000; Kussendrager and Van der Lugt, 2007; Bekius, 2012). In one text book, the genre of the reportage is understood to be somewhat similar to that of the narrative. This book describes the reportage as a genre at the interface of journalism and literature, in which literary techniques are used to evoke emotions (Donkers et al., 2010). Those techniques include the use of details, scenic descriptions, dialogues, metaphors, and concrete words. Techniques which are central in most definitions of narrative journalism, such as character development and point-of-view writing, are not discussed. Tellingly, the authors of this text book discourage journalism students to practice the genre of the reportage if they lack stylistic qualities.

By contrast, the *Handbook Narrative Journalism* focuses exclusively on the genre of narrative journalism. In the following, we

focus on this handbook and the website and magazine of the *Initiative Narrative Journalism Netherlands,* since these are the public expressions in which narrative journalism is explicitly addressed and where relevant frames were found. The analysis of these materials revealed that narrative journalism is discussed in three different frames. We will discuss each frame below.

#1 Narrative journalism is Moving

First, narrative journalism is framed as a genre that moves readers. Narrative journalism is in this frame seen as being capable to "surprise, move, shock, or outrage" the audience because it "reveals the essence of the human condition" (Magazine: 27). This frame implies that narrative journalism discloses social reality more thoroughly than traditional journalism; it brings to the surface that what remains hidden in traditional journalism.

As such, narrative journalism also involves readers more actively. A statement on the website of the *Initiative Narrative Journalism Netherlands* for instance reads as follows: "Stories endure. A story –with characters, tension, a deeper meaning– not only informs but also lets people co-experience." In addition, the Magazine (27*)* writes: "Those articles and books in which journalists have been able to pour their research and insights in a narrative form, using literary techniques and all, not only prompt an immersive reading experience; they are also very effective. They make an indelible impression." These literary techniques include the use of scenes, characters, action, plot, details, and perspective. The *Handbook Narrative Journalism* (129/137) writes that perspective "is possibly the most powerful story instrument" and compares it to castor oil (Dutch: "miracle oil") when it comes to involving readers because it allows them to "smell, see, hear, and taste the same as the character." Castor oil is used to produce grease and to keep food from rotting. Thus, the use of literary techniques such as perspective is framed not only as a means to

engage the audience, but also as a strategy to preserve journalism and to keep its motor running. This brings us to the second frame.

#2 Narrative journalism is Essential (to revitalize newspapers)

Second, narrative journalism is framed as a necessity to attract readers and revitalize newspapers: "stories are indispensable" and "narrative journalism is essential" (Magazine: 16/27). This need for narrative journalism is explicitly linked to the emergence of online media in the mid-90s, which has caused a dramatic decrease in Dutch newspaper circulation. It is seen as "the journalist's task to make journalistic products more attractive" by crafting good stories (Website). Similarly, the *Handbook Narrative Journalism* (31) reassures journalists that "you have to write vivaciously if you *do* want to be read."

Alongside investigative journalism, narrative journalism is even seen as "the most important form of journalism, now that the news itself is being delivered via the Internet" (Magazine: 27). This importance follows from the audience's need for a better understanding of the news. The abundance of fast, short, free online news items "irrevocably creates a need for stories showing 'what it all means' " (Handbook: 30). This frame implies that there is a new market for narrative journalism and that *not* writing and publishing narratives is not an option if newspapers want to survive in the digital age.

#3 Narrative journalism is High Quality journalism

Third, narrative journalism is framed as high quality journalism: "narrative journalism provides existing media with a quality incentive" (Magazine: 25). This claim is supported by references to

American journalism, where the genre has been successful in leading media for many years: "[…] there is a great need for well told true stories. If we look at the United States, we can see that this quality improvement works" (Magazine: 25). The quality of narrative journalism is further underscored by references to important journalism prizes which have in recent years been awarded to narrative texts, all written by journalists who believe that "popularity and quality do not necessarily contradict one another" (Handbook: 31).

In short, the analysis of public expressions shows that the genre of narrative journalism is being framed as (1) moving and (2) essential, and as (3) journalism of higher quality. The following section discusses how narrative journalism is framed in the interviews with journalists and lecturers in journalism programs.

2.4.2 Frames in Interviews

Results of the interview data revealed that narrative journalism is discussed in three distinctive frames which correspond to, as well as deepen, the frames found in the public expressions. An overview is shown in Table 2.2 below.

Table 2.2: Frames in Public Discourse and in Interviews

Public discourse		Interviews
#1 Narrative journalism is Moving	→	#1 Narrative journalism is a Dangerous Game
#2 Narrative journalism is Essential	→	#2 Narrative journalism is a Paradigm Shift
#3 Narrative journalism is High Quality	→	#3 Narrative journalism is the Holy Grail

#1 Narrative journalism is a Dangerous Game

First, narrative journalism is framed as a dangerous game. This frame appears to be an extension of the "narrative journalism is moving" frame: *because* narrative journalism should engage readers, narrative journalism is conceived of as a gambling game with "temptations", "dangers" and "risks" involved as well as wins and losses. (A, D, F, H)[4] As one interviewee articulates it: "There is a lot to win, but yes, there is a lot to lose." (H) The dangers and risks of the narrative game lie in the temptation to sacrifice a narrative's truthfulness for the sake of readers' involvement. Specifically, using storytelling techniques may increase "the danger to get carried away by the story structure and to twist the facts a bit" (A) and "the temptation […] to take the truth a bit more lightly – but that I consider as a sliding scale, where does it stop?" (D)

The temptations in the game of narrative journalism are not to be taken lightly: journalists are tempted to cross "the boundary to too much fiction, that is the danger" (F); and in doing so, "you are getting somewhat in an atmosphere of a novel almost, you'll be tempted of course, because it's so big and it feels so good." (F) Likewise, interviewees compare journalists who use storytelling techniques to children playing with "dangerous toys", "a set of knives", and even with "a barrel of gasoline" (H), implying that narrative journalism may cause harm or could even be explosive: it may harm the journalist as well as journalism itself. In playing the narrative game, journalism's credibility, authority, and function are at stake. To ensure that the narrative journalism game does not reach the exploding stage, journalists should "read the manual" and "play by the rules". (H) This brings us to the second frame.

[4] The letter labels correspond to the labels assigned to the interviewees in Appendix 2A.

#2 Narrative journalism is a Paradigm Shift

Second, professionalization of narrative journalism is framed as a paradigm shift in which the ideal of objectivity gets abandoned. This frame appears to be an extension of the "narrative journalism is essential" frame: *because* narrative journalism is essential to revitalize journalism, it permits or presupposes a rethinking of the traditional objectivity and factuality paradigm.

In the first place, the abandoning of objectivity is legitimized by the claim that objectivity simply does not exist and that all journalism is in fact inherently subjective: "The discussion about objectivity goes way back and and I don't mean to throw it all overboard, you should use it but in another way". (E) The objectivity ideal gets readily substituted by different ideals: "[…] we are going to abandon the notion of objectivity, because that does not exist […] and instead there is the notion of plausibility, credibility, trustworthiness, truthfulness…" (E)

The paradigm shift also involves the notions of *fact* and *fiction*. Although most interviewees feel that journalism should be strictly factual and that "facts are sacred" (H), the notions of fact and fiction are found to be "slippery". (J) In this view, defining the boundaries of narrative journalism becomes highly problematic. Interviewees talk about the flexibility ("there are no fixed boundaries" (J)) and even the absence of the genre's boundaries ("the boundaries of literary non-fiction have nowhere been defined" (G)). In order to resolve this issue, conceptions of what is allowed and what is not are seen as "less relevant" (D) or "outdated": "[...] so the journalistic ideology, about what truth is and such, that I find really outdated and sometimes very primitive." (E)

For some of the interviewed lecturers, but not for the journalists, the absence of clear boundaries allows for "more freedom" (I) in terms of how to represent reality: "[…] what is true and what is untrue and how do you deal with composing sources – there are no rules either. I am not against composite sources or fabricated quotes at

all." (E) Stylistic and aesthetical considerations may come to dominate over traditional norms of truthfulness and factuality, although narrative journalism is still to be distinguished from fiction: "So then I read a story representing the reality as it *could* have happened. But I know that, before you know it, you end up in the wrong camp. […] You have to be careful with that, but I am a bit aesthetic, I like to see it pretty." (I)

By consequence, this new paradigm requires readers to be "mature". (B) They decide what to read in the newspaper and if they choose to read news narratives, that decision implies agreement with the somewhat blurred line between fact and fiction. It is the readers' responsibility to understand that not everything they read in the newspapers mirrors reality. In the words of one of the interviewees: "It is not up to me to educate the reader." (B) And another: "As a reader you don't think: oh everything that is told there is true. [...] A certain level of literacy, media literacy it is called nowadays, may be presupposed." (E) Over time readers come to understand that narrative productions are a mix of fact and fiction: "that you look for signals where you can tell oh this is made up or something, by a transition or whatever. So yes, of course, over time that is changing." (E)

#3 Narrative journalism is the Holy Grail

Third, narrative journalism is framed as a form of art. This frame appears to be an extension of the "narrative journalism is high quality journalism" frame: *because* narrative journalism is high quality journalism, it is also "the highest" achievable for journalists. In this frame, narrative journalism is compared to the top, heaven or "the Holy Grail": "Yes, I really consider it the top of journalism" (G); "It is the higher form of journalism which, yes, if you can do that, you are in the Valhalla of journalism" (A); "[...] Haha, yes, the Holy Grail". (B)

The effects that narrative journalism as art can achieve are compared to those of music, visual art, and literature: "A reportage with the power of a literary story, that causes the reader to sit upright because he thinks: oh God, and this is all true." (H) It thus appears that professionalization of narrative journalism also affects journalists' professional identity: they become artists rather than reporters.

This frame implies that the quality of a journalistic narrative is determined by the talent and practice of its creator: "If you learn to play the piano you must also walk along those keys, again and again, and one day you find yourself playing Tchaikovski." (G) Successes may be met with failures, though: "There are nice paintings but there are also very cheap paintings." (I) News narratives may not always excel in quality, but the narrative productions which *do* excel should be valued and treasured as true art and as showcases of what narrative journalism is capable of.

2.5 Conclusions

Although narrative journalism as a journalistic phenomenon is not new in the Netherlands, it has in recent years been propagated as a "new" genre. The present study shows that this new focus can be conceived of as a strategy to withstand the pressures journalism is facing in the competition with online news. In metajournalistic discourse on narrative journalism, the genre is conceptualized as an essential enterprise, using involving techniques to deliver an attractive and high quality product. These findings clearly show how this public field of discourse is used to establish narrative journalism as a meaningful and legitimate genre (cf. Carlson, 2015).

However, as became clear from the interviews, the supposed strengths of narrative journalism come with some risky downsides. The use of literary techniques is seen as a precarious affair; it attracts readers but it may also tempt journalists to alter the truth. This is

dangerous in the sense that aesthetic considerations may come to dominate over traditional principles of objectivity and factuality, which may ultimately cause journalism to lose its credibility and authority. Note that in itself, this frame has all the characteristics of a folk tale. By framing narrative journalism as an obligatory task, using a magic trick that enchants the audience en route to the Holy Grail, meanwhile averting the dangerous abyss of subjective fiction underway, the journalist may feel reinforced in the battle against the abundance of new media.

The framing of narrative journalism as a dangerous game is notable for several reasons. First, a game is a contest involving some sort of rivalry. Use of this frame thus signals an attempt to dissociate narrative journalism from other forms of journalism rather than an attempt to integrate the genre into mainstream journalism – which could be an alternative and recommendable strategy, if narrativization indeed does raise quality. Second, a game involves a set of rules. Interviewees, when using this game-frame, showed their awareness of the importance of the rule to stay away from fiction. However, the game frame is in this view somewhat contradictory to the framing of narrative journalism as a paradigm shift: a paradigm shift frame acknowledges that rules concerning objectivity and factuality are either unclear –and therefore irrelevant– or that they should be adjusted to fit narrative journalism – instead of the other way around.

Does this mean that narrative journalists are ready to depart from journalistic norms altogether? The traditional rule in journalism, rooted in the New Journalism movement of the late 19th century (Broersma, 2007), pertains to the objectivity norm according to which journalists should provide news in a factual and neutral manner without adding values, emotions, or comments to it (Schudson, 2001). Despite many critical evaluations of this norm, journalism's claim to objectivity remains a central one in journalism practice as well as public discourse (Broersma, 2010; Post, 2015). Interviewees in the present study take an alternative stance by claiming that objectivity is

no longer very relevant, or does even not exist, and that the objectivity rule does therefore not apply to the game of narrative journalism.

This finding resonates with the results of a study by Andén-Papadopoulos and Pantti (2013) on journalists' use of citizen-created photographs and videos, a routine which challenges the traditional professional values of accuracy and objectivity. Their study showed how journalists defend this routine by "renegotiating the conventional model of objectivity in favor of the model of transparency" and how they "explicitly question the importance of objectivity in the context of crisis reporting, pitting it against the norm of truth-telling, non-elite sourcing and the public serve commitment of journalism" (Andén-Papadopoulos and Pantti, 2013: 971-972). In the case of Dutch narrative journalism, the objectivity norm is renegotiated in favor of less rigid norms of plausibility and credibility.

The renegotiation of objectivity can be viewed as a form of *boundary work*, a process of "demarcating, defending, expanding and contesting the limits of legitimate journalism in order to consolidate and protect authority" (Fakazis, 2006: 6; see also Lewis, 2012). Interviewees in our study not only contest the boundaries of narrative journalism, but also question the relevance of these boundaries by emphasizing their flexibility and reflecting on their haziness. Interesting in this respect is the finding that for some of the interviewed lecturers, this flexibility even allows for the inclusion of fictional elements in journalistic writing, such as composite sources and fabricated quotes. Note that only lecturers consider narrative journalism as a genre in which the use of such fictional elements is legitimate, which might be explained by the presumption that lecturers have a more reflective view on the notions of fact and fiction compared to journalists. Part of the lecturers' professional task involves the transmission of values and norms to students, requiring their ability to think beyond commonplaces and adopt conventional as well as unconventional views – if only for the sake of fruitful classroom discussions. A complementary explanation could be that lecturers and professional journalists alike regard narrative journalism

as a space to include fictional elements, but that in the context of this study, only lecturers felt free to express such views because they are not actively writing for newspapers. Future explorations of these two explanations could contribute to a clearer understanding of the limits and legitimacy of narrative journalism and examine how and why the boundary work in this area might differ across the various actors involved.

The relevance of future research in this direction derives from the paradox that in narrative journalism, fiction –be it fictionalizing techniques or fictional elements– is used to serve nonfiction. The framing of this practice as a dangerous game involves a renewed understanding of journalistic professionalism with implications for the role distribution between journalist and reader: the narrative journalist is a child playing with storytelling techniques, while the reader is an adult who is able to assess the playful conception of reality. This marks a sharp contrast with the traditional relationship between journalist and reader in which journalists function as watchdogs alerting the public about official misconducts and other problems occurring in society (Strömbäck, 2005). In this relationship, readers rely on the journalist's trustworthiness in order to become informed citizens and participate in democratic processes (Strömbäck, 2005). The newly proposed relationship appears to offer less room for this kind of reliance, which could raise the anxious question as to how narrative journalism lives up to journalism's societal function. A possible answer is that news narratives contribute in a slightly altered way to society, in terms of sense-making and "quality of life". Their value could be shifting towards the range of meanings and valuable experiences these stories bring about (Costera Meijer, 2013). Journalism can only fulfill its democratic function if its products are consumed by the audience, and the audience has a need for understanding and sense, delivered by gripping stories (Peelo, 2006).

From this perspective, the narrative formats that are used so frequently in journalism contribute to democracy precisely because they attract readers: they stage news actors as prototypical characters

whom readers can relate to (Lule, 2001) and display storytelling techniques that draw readers close to the news events (Peelo, 2006). This idea also corresponds to research indicating that Dutch journalism is and always has been functioning on narrative grounds Van Krieken & Sanders, 2016a, 2016b; Dingemanse and De Graaf, 2011). Hence, there is no evident reason to assume that the current promotion of narrative journalism would endanger the interdependent relation between journalism and democracy. And the story of narrative journalism gives narrative journalists a sense of greater quality of life, as well.

Appendix 2A Overview of Interviews

Table 2A: Overview of Interviews

	Interviewee	Date of interview
A	Journalist	January 6, 2015
B	Journalist	January 6, 2015
C	Journalist	January 6, 2015
D	Journalist	January 9, 2015
E	Lecturer	January 28, 2015
F	Journalist	February 3, 2015
G	Lecturer	February 5, 2015
H	Journalist	February 6, 2015
I	Lecturer	February 12, 2015
J	Lecturer	April 9, 2015

Chapter 3

Grammatical Roles and Referential Expressions in Crime News Narratives

This chapter has been published as:

Van Krieken, K., Sanders, J., & Hoeken, H. (2015). Viewpoint representation in journalistic crime narratives: An analysis of grammatical roles and referential expressions. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *88*, 220-230.

3 Grammatical Roles and Referential Expressions in Crime News Narratives

Abstract

This study examines how grammar and reference in journalistic narratives help to represent the viewpoints of eyewitnesses to shocking criminal acts. Grammatical roles of eyewitnesses and non-eyewitnesses and the expressions referring to them were analyzed in four journalistic narratives about different shocking events and compared to four non-narrative news reports about the same events. Results show that in the narratives, but not in the news reports, eyewitnesses appear more often in subject position of a clause than non-eyewitnesses. This indicates that in narratives, journalists choose eyewitnesses as the lens through which they narrate the events. Furthermore, eyewitnesses are more often referred to with pronouns than nouns, whereas non-eyewitnesses are more often referred to with nouns than pronouns. This indicates that eyewitnesses are cognitively highly accessible in news narratives and that their viewpoints are conceptually most proximate to the viewpoints of journalist and reader. It is argued that the strategic use of grammatical roles and referential expressions in journalistic crime narratives puts the reader in the position of a "mediated witness".

3.1 Introduction

Present-day journalism is characterized by a move from objective reporting towards subjective storytelling (Hartsock, 2007; Ytreberg, 2001). In the case of disturbing news events, such as homicides, terrorist attacks, and spree killings, journalistic narratives are written about the experiences of people involved in the events (Wardle, 2006;

Kitch, 2009). These narratives differ in function from traditional news reports. Consider, for example, the first two paragraphs of a news report about a shooting at an elementary school in Newtown, Connecticut:

Excerpt 3.1

> A man killed his mother at their home and then opened fire Friday inside an elementary school, massacring 26 people, including 20 children, as youngsters cowered in fear to the sound of gunshots reverberating through the building and screams echoing over the intercom.
>
> The 20-year-old killer, carrying at least two handguns, committed suicide at the school, bringing the death toll to 28, authorities said.
>
> (The Associated Press 2012, December 15)

Evidently, the function of this news report is to provide the reader with newsworthy information about a recent event (Bell, 1991): The who, what, where, and when questions are answered in the very first sentence of the report. In journalistic narratives, on the other hand, the *how* question plays a central role. Compare excerpt 3.2 below, which is part of a journalistic narrative that covers the same shooting:

Excerpt 3.2

> Library specialist Bev Bjorklund heard the noises and hustled about 15 students toward a storage closet in the library, which was filled with computer servers. "Hold hands. Be quiet," she told the kids. They looked back at her, confused. One child wondered if pots and pans were clanging. Another thought he heard firecrackers. Another worried an animal was coming to the door.
>
> They were children in a place built for children, and Bjorklund didn't know how to answer them. She told them to close their eyes and to keep quiet. She helped move an old bookshelf in front of the door to act as a makeshift barricade. She wondered: How do you explain unimaginable horror to the most innocent?
>
> (The Washington Post 2012, December 16)

This excerpt displays several characteristics that deviate from the standard way of reporting in news reports, but that are typical for news narratives: the events are chronologically ordered, situated in a detailed setting, and described from the perspective of an eyewitness.

Journalistic narratives about shocking crimes are thought to "invite" readers to become *mediated witnesses*, a phenomenological experience in which readers empathize with eyewitnesses and victims of a criminal act and vicariously experience the crime themselves (Peelo, 2006). This function is important as it provides the audience with the opportunity to experience what it must have been like to be present at the events. For this effect to occur, it requires readers to take the viewpoint of actual witnesses to the event. Linguistic choices help creating these viewpoints: selecting either a pronoun or a full noun to refer to a person as well as choice of word order guides the interplay between the viewpoints of journalist, reader, and eyewitness

(Hendriks, de Hoop, & de Swart, 2012; Langacker, 1991, 1987a; Van Hoek, 2007). The present study examines how grammatical roles and referential expressions are used in journalistic narratives to describe shocking news events from the viewpoints of eyewitnesses, thereby aiming to turn readers into mediated witnesses who experience these events up close and personal.

3.1.1 Linguistic Approaches to Viewpoint Representation in Journalism

Compared to authors of fictional novels on criminal acts, journalists are highly limited in their options to represent different viewpoints. In fiction, the interplay between multiple viewpoints (i.e., viewpoints of narrator and character(s)) is often complex, with processes of viewpoint shifting and blending affecting the reader's position relative to the narrative events and characters (Dancygier, 2012a). For instance, a mystery novel can describe a murder case from the viewpoint of the detective investigating the case, inviting readers to take the viewpoint of the detective and challenging them to solve the case. Alternatively, that same murder case can be described from the viewpoint of the murderer, inviting readers to take the viewpoint of the murderer and pulling them into the mind of a sociopath. Another possibility could be that the murder case is described partly from the detective's viewpoint and partly from the murderer's viewpoint. These different types of viewpoint configurations are guided by linguistic choices, with different linguistic categories related to different aspects of viewpoint. For example, verbs of seeing signal spatial viewpoint, modal verbs signal epistemic viewpoint, and thought representations signal psychological viewpoint. These and other grammatical and lexical choices provide the narrator of fiction with countless possibilities to represent narrative events and situations from a specific or multiple points of view.

In journalistic narratives, by contrast, some of these viewpoint representation strategies are not applicable because of the genre conventions. The objectivity norm dictates that journalistic articles should provide an accurate and neutral account of what happened in reality (e.g., Schudson, 2001). In line with this norm, news events are to be described from an "objective" viewpoint. Journalistic articles that represent news events from the viewpoints of people involved are thus at odds with the objectivity norm. In addition, accessing and representing the inner side of persons' minds is not allowed for journalists – as opposed to writers of fiction. Such "strong" perspectivization techniques are incompatible with the requirements of the news genre, which imposes restrictions on the possibilities to represent news events from the viewpoints of subjective others. However, more subtle strategies can be used to represent viewpoints in an implicit manner (Sanders & Redeker, 1993). The inflexible conventions of Western-world journalism make it relevant to study how journalists use language to represent the viewpoints of others, without violating the norms of their genre.

Thus far, linguistic analyses of journalistic texts have largely been restricted to two aspects of viewpoint representation: the representation of emotions and the representation of speech and thought. Studies examining emotions have employed Appraisal Theory (Martin & Rose, 2003; Martin & White, 2005) to uncover how journalists intersperse their writings with expressions of affect and evaluation on part of persons involved in news events (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013a, 2013b; Stenvall, 2008). Through the use of such expressions, journalists encourage the reader to share the emotions of these persons. These studies have mainly provided insight into the representation of viewpoint as it resides in the use of lexical items (e.g., *angry, relieved*) to denote the emotional states of people affected by news events.

On a different dimension, the representation of speech and thought provides another range of possibilities for journalists to give expression to the viewpoints of others. Choices between

representation mode, i.e., direct (quotation), indirect (paraphrase), or free indirect (represented dialogue or stream of consciousness) signify the degree to which the journalist merges another person's viewpoint with his own viewpoint. By using the direct representation mode, the journalist remains at a distance from the viewpoint of the quoted person, whereas the use of indirect and free indirect representation mode establishes–to different degrees–a fusion of this person's viewpoint and the journalist's viewpoint (Sanders, 2010). A fourth, non-canonical representation mode which can be found in journalistic discourse is distancing indirect speech or thought (Vandelanotte, 2004b). Excerpt 3.1 from The Associated Press provides an example of distancing indirect speech: *The 20-year old killer, carrying at least two handguns, committed suicide at the school, bringing the death toll to 28, authorities said.* Note that the absence of quotation marks and the sentence-final position of the reporting clause prioritize the informative value of what was said and de-emphasize the importance of who was responsible for what was said. As such, this representation mode "render[s] a 'voice' distinct from the current speaker's, albeit in an echoic way" (Vandelanotte, 2004b: 573).

Linguistic elements that represent persons' emotions and speech or thought signify whose voices sound and resound through the journalist's voice. On a more fundamental level, linguistic elements also signify who of the persons involved in the narrative serves as the *lens of narration*, i.e., from whose position a narrative scene is viewed. Important indicators of the lens of narration are grammatical roles and referential expressions (Langacker, 1991, 1987a; Van Hoek, 2007). In studying the representation of viewpoint in journalistic narratives, an analysis of these linguistic categories is important as they not only reveal from whose viewpoint the journalist narrates the news events, but also signify the proximity between the viewpoints of journalist, news actor, and reader. These categories will be discussed below.

3.1.2 Grammatical Roles, Referential Expressions, and Viewpoint Representation

When introducing and further referring to a person (from here on: protagonist), journalists can situate this protagonist as closer to or further away from their own perceptual and cognitive perspective, in short: their viewpoint. The linguistic instruments to regulate a protagonist's proximity are the grammatical role of this protagonist on the one hand, and the type of expression used to refer to this protagonist on the other.

3.1.2.1 Grammatical Roles

Since the grammatical subject is the dominant position of a clause, the protagonist who fulfills the role of subject is the most prominent participant in that clause (Langacker, 1991: 321). More specifically, the subject of a clause serves as the vantage point of narration as it indicates the position from which a particular scene is viewed (cf. Langacker, 1987a: 123). This can be illustrated with a simple example. In the sentence "John kisses Mary on the cheek", the scene is described from John's point of view. In the passive equivalent of that sentence, "Mary is kissed on the cheek by John", Mary takes over the role of subject and the scene is now described from her point of view. Metaphorically speaking, the camera is located near John in the first sentence and near Mary in the second sentence (Kuno, 1987). A grammatical subject can thus be seen as the lens through which the journalist narrates the events and, by consequence, through which the reader perceives them (Van Hoek, 2007). The viewpoint of a protagonist with subject status is therefore conceptually most proximate to both the journalist's and the reader's viewpoints.

In excerpt 3.2, for instance, a common clause structure is one in which the library specialist appears in subject position and the

children in object position (e.g., “Bjorklund didn't know how to answer them”, “She told them to close their eyes and to keep quiet”). The grammatical structures of these clauses mark the prominence of the library specialist and indicate that the scene is viewed from this person’s viewpoint. Her viewpoint is thus most proximate to the viewpoints of journalist and reader.

3.1.2.2 Referential Expressions

During the description of events, the narrative’s protagonists will be referred to repeatedly. Referential expressions are also indications for the proximity of these protagonists’ viewpoints, which may change during the narrative. Referential expressions signify the cognitive status of the protagonist, i.e., the degree to which the protagonist is accessible and active in short-term memory (Ariel, 1988). Pronominal references mark high accessibility, indicating that the protagonist is the focus of attention, whereas nominal references mark low accessibility, indicating that the protagonist is less prominent (Gundel, Hedberg, & Zacharski, 1993; Ariel, 1988). The accessibility of a protagonist is regulated by several discourse factors, such as the amount of text between two references to the protagonist and the number of competing referents (Ariel, 1988, 1990; Clancy, 1980). These factors thus play a role in determining whether a noun or a pronoun is most appropriate to refer to a protagonist.

However, choices of referential expressions are not solely guided by factors related to discourse structure. Fox (1987), for instance, discusses examples of nominal references used in a context in which a pronoun could have been used without causing ambiguity. In these instances, nominal references are used to express disapproval or disagreement with the referent, creating distance between the narrator and the referent. Choice of referential expression can thus be guided by the wish to express nuances as to one’s attitude towards the

referent. Drawing on similar observations, Van Hoek (2007, 1997) discusses referential expressions in terms of conceptual distance: pronouns position the protagonist closer to the narrator and reader while nouns set them further apart. Importantly, conceptual distance is associated with viewpoint, such that a pronoun not only signals the conceptual proximity of a protagonist, but also indicates that a scene is viewed from that protagonist's viewpoint (Van Hoek, 2007, 2003).

In excerpt 3.2, for example, the library specialist is mostly referred to with a pronoun (e.g., "she told", "she helped", "she wondered"). This marks the cognitive accessibility and conceptual proximity of this protagonist and signals that the events are described from her viewpoint. For comparison, in the part of the news report given in excerpt 3.1, only nominal referential expressions are used (e.g., "a man", "youngsters"). These expressions signify the conceptual distance between journalist and protagonists.

3.1.2.3 Hypotheses

Summarizing, journalistic narratives about shocking news events attempt to transform readers into mediated witnesses to these events, an experience in which they empathize with actual eyewitnesses and vicariously observe the events from these persons' viewpoints (Peelo, 2006). In representing viewpoints, journalists are bounded by news conventions which prohibit them from using techniques used by authors of fiction. However, choice of grammatical roles and referential expressions steer readers' conceptualization of the news events without being at odds with these conventions. Given that the grammatical role of a protagonist is indicative of the vantage point of narration (Langacker, 1991; Van Hoek, 2007), the following hypothesis can be formulated:

Hypothesis 1: In journalistic narratives, eyewitnesses to shocking news events appear more often in the subject position of a clause than non-eyewitnesses.

In addition, referential expressions are indicative of the cognitive accessibility of a protagonist and the proximity between the viewpoints of protagonist, journalist, and reader (Ariel, 1988; Van Hoek, 2007, 2003). This leads to the following hypothesis about the referential expressions used in journalistic narratives to refer to protagonists appearing in subject position:

Hypothesis 2: In journalistic narratives, eyewitnesses to shocking news events are more often referred to with a pronoun than a noun, whereas non-eyewitnesses are more often referred to with a noun than a pronoun.

These hypotheses were tested in an analysis of four journalistic narratives about different shocking criminal acts. To contrast the findings for these journalistic narratives, four journalistic news reports about these same events were analyzed as well.

3.2 Study

3.2.1 Materials

Two American and two Dutch journalistic narratives about (different) shocking criminal acts were selected. An article was classified as a narrative if it displayed on or more of the following characteristics (cf. Johnston & Graham, 2012): an anecdotal (feature) lead, the setting of

a scene, detailed descriptions. The American narratives were taken from *The Washington Post* (WP) and covered two of the deadliest shootings in the history of the United States: a spree killing on the Virginia Tech campus in 2007[5] and a shooting at a movie theater in Aurora, Colorado in 2012. During the Virginia Tech massacre, 33 people were killed (including the perpetrator) and 17 were wounded. During the Aurora shooting, 12 people were killed and 70 were wounded. The Dutch narratives were taken from the newspaper *NRC Handelsblad* (NRC) and covered two of the deadliest attacks in the history of the Netherlands: an attack on the Dutch Royal Family in Apeldoorn in 2009 and a spree killing in a shopping mall in Alphen aan den Rijn in 2011. In the attack on the Royal Family, 8 people died (including the perpetrator) and 10 were wounded. During the spree killing in the shopping mall, 7 people were killed (including the perpetrator) and 17 were wounded. The four cases are similar in impact and, most importantly, all four criminal acts were committed in public places with many eyewitnesses.

For each case, a news report from a news agency was selected to compare the use of grammatical roles and referential expressions in journalistic narratives with the use of grammatical roles and referential expressions in non-narrative news reports. This comparison was made in order to determine whether the results for grammar and reference use would be specific to news narratives or whether they would be genre-independent. News reports about the American cases were retrieved from news agency *The Associated Press* (AP). News reports about the Dutch cases were retrieved from news agency *Algemeen Nederlands Persbureau* (ANP). An overview of the materials and the number of words per article can be found in Table 3.1 below.

[5] This article ("That was the desk I chose to die under") is a long narrative which covers the entire day of the shooting with elaborate accounts of its preamble and aftermath. For the purpose of this study, only the section that describes the actual attacks on the students and teachers on the Virginia Tech campus ("Popping sounds in the hallway") was included in the analysis.

Table 3.1: Overview of Materials and Number of Words per Article

	American articles			Dutch articles			Total
	Aurora	Virginia	Total	Apeldoorn	Alphen	Total	
Narrative (WP/NRC)	1,552	1,538	3,090	628	1,238	1,866	4,956
News report (AP/ANP)	945	933	1,878	488	228	716	2,594
Total words	2,497	2,471	4,968	1,116	1,466	2,582	7,550

3.2.2 Analysis

An analysis of the grammatical subjects and their referential expressions found throughout the narratives and the news reports was performed to assess the prominence of the various protagonists' viewpoints and their proximity to the narrator's viewpoint. Since the primary interest of this study is the representation of viewpoints of eyewitnesses to shocking news events, a division was made between the persons who evidently fulfill the role of eyewitness in the articles and persons who fulfill a different role. Individuals who witnessed (saw and/or heard) the act from up close and could be identified as such based on the article were labeled as eyewitness. Non-eyewitnesses were labeled as victim, perpetrator, police, authorities, or other (groups of) person(s).

Objects of the analysis were all expressions in subject position of a clause referring to persons. The referential expressions of all subjects were coded as either pronominal or nominal (occurrences of indefinite noun phrases, definite noun phrases, nouns with a null determiner, and proper names were added up). The results were analyzed using chi-squared tests.

3.3 Findings

Table 3.2 below shows the results of the analysis of referential expressions in the journalistic narratives and news reports. Whereas 437 referential expressions were used in the journalistic narratives (1 per 11.3 words), the news reports contained 167 referential expressions (1 per 15.5 words). The higher density of expressions referring to persons in the narratives compared to the hard news reports points towards a greater prominence of persons in the narratives. Table 3.2 furthermore shows that pronominal referential expressions and nominal referential expressions were used equally often in the narratives, whereas in the news reports, nominal referential expressions were employed much more frequently. This seems to indicate that the news reports were more distant by nature than the narratives.

As predicted by Hypothesis 1, eyewitnesses appeared more often in the subject position of a clause in the news narratives than non-eyewitnesses (χ^2 (5) = 332.96, $p < .001$). Pairwise comparisons (Marascuilo, 1966) revealed that the eyewitnesses appeared significantly more often in subject position (47.1%) than the victims (11.2%), the perpetrator (19.9%), the police (8.0%), the authorities (2.7%), and the other (groups of) persons (10.9%), respectively (see Appendix 3A for all pairwise comparisons).

In the news reports, on the other hand, the relative occurrences of eyewitnesses (22.8%) and non-eyewitnesses in subject position (ranging between 14.4 and 16.8%) did not differ significantly from one another (χ^2 (5) = 5.49, $p = .359$). Together, these results demonstrate that in journalistic narratives, but not in hard news reports, the eyewitnesses appeared more often in subject position of a clause than the non-eyewitnesses. The results thus provide strong support for Hypothesis 1.

Table 3.2: Distribution of Pronominal and Nominal Referential Expressions in Subject Position of a Clause in Journalistic Narratives and News Reports

	Referent						Total
Referential expression	Eyewitness	Victim	Perpetrator	Police	Authorities	Other(s)	
Narrative							
Pronoun	131 (63.6%)	17 (34.7%)	41 (47.1%)	9 (25.7%)	1 (8.3%)	21 (43.8%)	220 (53.8%)
Noun	75 (36.4%)	32 (65.3%)	46 (52.9%)	26 (74.3%)	11 (91.7%)	27 (56.3%)	217 (46.2%)
Total	206 (47.1%)	49 (11.2%)	87 (19.9%)	35 (8.0%)	12 (2.7%)	48 (10.9%)	437 (100%)
News report							
Pronoun	17 (44.7%)	4 (14.3%)	8 (29.6%)	2 (9.1%)	5 (20.8%)	8 (28.6%)	44 (26.3%)
Noun	21 (55.3%)	24 (85.7%)	19 (70.4%)	20 (90.9%)	19 (79.2%)	20 (71.4%)	123 (73.7%)
Total	38 (22.8%)	28 (16.8%)	27 (16.2%)	22 (13.2%)	24 (14.4%)	28 (16.8%)	167 (100%)

As predicted by Hypothesis 2, eyewitnesses in journalistic narratives were more often referred to with a pronoun (63.6%) than a noun (36.4%), whereas non-eyewitnesses were more often referred to with a noun (61.5%) than a pronoun (38.5%).[6] The difference in expressions used in journalistic narratives to refer to eyewitnesses and expressions used to refer to non-eyewitnesses was highly significant (χ^2 (1) = 27.36, $p < .001$). The standardized residuals indicated that the number of pronouns used to refer to eyewitnesses was significantly higher ($p < .01$) than the number that would be expected if there was no association between type of protagonist (eyewitness/non-eyewitness) and type of reference (pronoun/noun). The number of nouns referring to eyewitnesses was significantly lower than would be expected ($p < .01$). For the use of pronouns and nouns referring to non-eyewitnesses, the exact opposite pattern was obtained (p's < .05).

In the news reports, both the eyewitnesses and the non-eyewitnesses were more often referred to with nouns than pronouns (55.3% versus 44.7% for the eyewitnesses; 79.1% versus 20.9% for the non-eyewitnesses). An unexpected significant difference was found, however (χ^2 (1) = 8.57, $p < .01$). The standardized residuals indicated that the number of pronouns used to refer to eyewitnesses was significantly higher than the number that would be expected if there was no association between type of protagonist and type of reference ($p < .05$). The number of nouns referring to eyewitnesses did not differ from the expected number ($p > .05$). The numbers of nouns and pronouns referring to the non-eyewitnesses did not differ from the expected numbers either (p's > .05).

These results show that news narratives as well as news reports use relatively many pronouns to refer to eyewitnesses. This seems to indicate that in both genres, the viewpoints of eyewitnesses are conceptually proximate and that the events are related through their viewpoints. However, it appeared that one of the four news reports–

[6] In the analyses performed to test Hypothesis 2, the different groups of non-eyewitnesses were taken together in order to avoid low cell frequencies.

the AP news report about a shooting in a movie theater–accounted for more than 88% of the pronominal references to eyewitnesses in these reports. A comparison between this report and the narratives reveals some essential differences in the way pronouns are used. Consider the following excerpt from this report:

Excerpt 3.3

> **Benjamin Fernandez**, 30, told the Post that **he** heard a series of explosions. **He** said that people ran from the theater and there were gunshots as police shouted "get down!" **Fernandez** said **he** saw people falling, including one young girl.

In this fragment, three of the five references made to the eyewitness are pronominal. Two of these pronominal references appear in subordinate clauses. In these subordinate clauses, nominal references would be highly anomalous because the main clauses already contain nominal references to the eyewitness (e.g., Ariel, 1988). Following this line of thought, the use of pronouns in this news report thus appears to be determined by the clause structures rather than the journalist's intention to describe the events from the eyewitness's viewpoint. Note also that each sentence contains a reporting verb and reported speech, which signals that the eyewitness's primary role is that of a news source.

Now compare the following excerpt from the NRC narrative about a spree killing in a shopping mall:

Excerpt 3.4

> **An older man** escapes in front of him [the gunman] and ducks into the Hubo. **He** was recently with his granddaughter, but **he** has now lost her. Quickly **he** gets up again. **He** sees a man and a woman lying on the ground, bathed in blood. **He** sees fear, panic. **He** finds his granddaughter again.

After the eyewitness is introduced by an indefinite noun phrase in the first sentence, he is referred to with a pronoun six times in five sentences. This marks the high accessibility and conceptual proximity of the eyewitness. Importantly, at least one or two of the pronominal references could be substituted with nominal references without causing abnormalities or ungrammaticalities, for example: ***An older man*** *escapes in front of him [the gunman] and ducks into the Hubo.* ***He*** *was recently with his granddaughter, but* ***he*** *has now lost her. Quickly* ***the man*** *gets up again.* Hence, in this narrative, the use of pronouns does not appear to be dictated by clause structure or discourse structure; rather, pronouns are used strategically to situate readers close to the eyewitness and to invite them to look at the shooting from his viewpoint. This effect becomes even stronger through the short, staccato sentences and the verbs of perception, which add to the cinematic portrayal of events. The scene unfolds as if it were part of a movie in which the camera angle is located over the shoulder of the eyewitness and the viewers can only see what he sees. Note also that the eyewitness is not referred to by his name and that no speech is reported, which signifies that his primary role is that of a narrative character rather than that of a news source.

In sum, although both narratives and reports use relatively many pronouns to refer to eyewitnesses, only narratives appear to use pronouns as a strategy to describe news events from the viewpoints of eyewitnesses. To further substantiate this interpretation, some alternative explanations for the distribution of pronouns and nouns in

the news narratives should also be considered. One alternative explanation could be that eyewitnesses in news narratives are a homogeneous group of central characters, and therefore more likely to be referred to with pronouns, whereas non-eyewitnesses are a heterogeneous group of peripheral characters, requiring nominal referential expressions in order to avoid ambiguity (cf. Clancy, 1980; Ariel, 1988, 1990). A closer look at the protagonists of the narratives can shed light on the plausibility of this alternative explanation. Consider, for example, the following excerpt from the NRC narrative about the attack on the Dutch Royal Family:

Excerpt 3.5

> Ria and Harry van Franke were standing ten meters away from the place where the car had driven through the fences. The scene of the accident is blocked off.
>
> They are upset. Full of emotion, they tell how they saw people flying through the air, how they saw wounded children lying on the ground. They are convinced it was a deliberate act.
>
> Willem-Jan Mulder was standing near the incident and says that he saw three policemen and three children fly through the air when the car drove into the crowd.

This excerpt shows how multiple viewpoints are involved in the narratives (see Van Krieken, Sanders, & Hoeken, 2016 for in-depth analyses of viewpoint multiplicity in news narratives). Crucially, different eyewitnesses are introduced shortly after each other; a clear topic is absent. In fact, none of the narratives analyzed in this study revolves around one or a few central eyewitnesses who can be considered to be the global topic(s) of the story; instead, many eyewitnesses (as well as non-eyewitnesses) are introduced who serve

as consecutive local topics. It thus appears that neither topic-comment structure nor a supposed difference in homogeneity can account for the difference in expressions used to refer to eyewitnesses and non-eyewitnesses.

One could argue that the prominence of eyewitnesses, as indicated by the higher number of total references to eyewitnesses compared to non-eyewitnesses (cf. Hypothesis 1), is responsible for the difference in pronominal and nominal references between eyewitnesses and non-eyewitnesses. Specifically, a protagonist who is referred to frequently is likely to be referred to with pronouns more often than nouns, while a protagonist who is referred to less frequently is likely to be referred to with nouns more often than pronouns. To examine this alternative explanation, an additional two-step analysis was performed. In the first step, it was examined how many individual eyewitnesses and non-eyewitnesses, introduced by a proper name or an indefinite noun phrase, were referred to in the news narratives.[7] A narrative contained on average references to six individual eyewitnesses and eight individual non-eyewitnesses. This corroborates the observation made above: the eyewitnesses cannot be considered to be "more homogeneous" than the non-eyewitnesses. Both eyewitnesses and non-eyewitnesses thus require nominal referential expressions in order to avoid ambiguity, which means that risk of ambiguity cannot explain for the difference in pronoun use between eyewitnesses and non-eyewitnesses.

In the second step, the expressions referring to individual eyewitnesses and non-eyewitnesses were analyzed. The results are listed in Table 3.3.

[7] Hence, generic references to eyewitnesses and non-eyewitnesses (e.g., "bystanders", "people", "the first responding officers") were excluded from this analysis.

Table 3.3: Distribution of Pronouns and Nouns Referring to Individual Eyewitnesses, Individual Non-eyewitnesses, and Perpetrators in Journalistic Narratives

	Individual eyewitness	**Individual non-eyewitness**	**Perpetrator**
N subject position	7.46	4.53	21.75
Pronoun	5.13 (68.72%)	2.25 (49.66%)	11.25 (51.72%)
Noun	2.33 (31.28%)	2.28 (50.34%)	10.50 (48.28%)

Table 3.3 shows that an individual eyewitnesses was on average referred to 7.46 times, and in almost 69% of the occurrences with a pronoun. An individual non-eyewitness was on average referred to 4.53 times, but only in less than 50% of the occurrences with a pronoun. That this difference in pronoun use was not caused by the prominence of the eyewitnesses (as indicated by the higher total number of references to an individual eyewitness compared to an individual non-eyewitness), follows from an analysis of the way in which reference is made to the perpetrators only. A perpetrator was on average referred to 21 times (which is three times as many as an individual eyewitness)[8], but almost equally often with a noun as a pronoun. This analysis thus demonstrates that there is no clear linear relationship between the total number of references to a protagonist and the relative number of pronominal (versus nominal) references to this protagonist. Hence, the difference in pronominal and nominal references between eyewitnesses and non-eyewitnesses cannot be explained by a difference in prominence, but rather by a strategic use attributed to the function of news narratives.

[8] Although this might at first glance seem to contradict Hypothesis 1, it is on second thought evident that perpetrators must be most prominent on the level of individual protagonists: It is they who caused the newsworthy events and are in that sense the most important news actors. Thus, it is even more noteworthy that journalists would describe the events from the viewpoints of several eyewitnesses (instead of one) and deliberately increase the prominence of eyewitnesses by placing them – overall – most often in subject position.

3.4 Conclusion

The results of this study reveal how choices of grammatical roles and referential expressions in journalistic narratives help to represent the viewpoints of eyewitnesses to shocking criminal acts in two ways. First, eyewitnesses are placed more often in subject position of a clause than non-eyewitnesses. Eyewitnesses are thus the most prominent participants in the narrative; they serve as the lens through which journalists narrate the news events and, by consequence, through which readers perceive the events (Van Hoek, 2007; Langacker, 1991). Second, eyewitnesses are in journalistic narratives more often referred to with pronouns than nouns, whereas non-eyewitnesses are more often referred to with nouns than pronouns. This indicates that the eyewitnesses are cognitively highly accessible and that the events are related through their viewpoints (Ariel, 1988; Gundel et al., 1993; Van Hoek, 2007, 2003). Moreover, by using pronouns rather than nouns to refer to eyewitnesses, journalists increase the conceptual proximity between their own viewpoints, the eyewitnesses' viewpoints, and the readers' viewpoints (Van Hoek, 2007). Similarly, by using nouns rather than pronouns to refer to non-eyewitnesses, journalists distance themselves (and hence the readers) from the viewpoints of non-eyewitnesses.

3.5 Discussion

These results lead to the question as to what extent the use of grammar and reference in journalistic narratives facilitates readers' experience of becoming a mediated witness to shocking criminal acts. A mediated witness experience consists of two dimensions: empathy with eyewitnesses to a crime and the virtual experience of that crime from up close (Peelo, 2006). Although both subject choice and pronoun use are likely to contribute to a mediated witness experience, their impact

on the respective components might differ. As for the first dimension, empathy with eyewitnesses, choice of subject is particularly important as a subject "tends to be a locus of empathy or point of view, in the sense that speakers sometimes view the imagined scene through the eyes of the subject" (Van Hoek, 2007: 900). Accordingly, a protagonist who fulfills the role of grammatical subject can be seen as the reader's gateway to narrative events; it is through this protagonist's perspective that the reader perceives the events. It is perhaps not surprisingly, then, that readers empathize more strongly with eyewitnesses to news events if the events are described from these persons' perspectives (Van Krieken, Hoeken, et al., 2015). The predominant use of eyewitnesses as grammatical subject in news narratives is therefore likely to evoke readers' empathy with eyewitnesses.

As for the virtual observation of a crime from up close, the second dimension of a mediated witness experience, pronoun use can be considered an important factor. When reading a narrative and mentally simulating the narrative events and protagonists' actions, readers either take an observer or a field position (Boyd, 2009: 157-158). Readers who take an observer position look at the events "from the outside"; they perceive the events and protagonists from an external perspective as if they were watching a game. Readers who take a field position look at the events "from the inside"; they perceive the events from the internal perspective of a protagonist as if they had a part in the game at the playing field (cf. Nigro & Neisser, 1983). Similarly, Oatley (1999) distinguishes between spectatorship (i.e., the reader is present in the story world as an unobserved observer) and identification (i.e., the reader is present in the story world and observes the events from the perspective of a character) as two types of reading experiences.

Experimental research has shown that pronouns play a pivotal role in the position people take when reading a narrative: they tend to take an internal field position when protagonists are referred to with the second person pronoun *you*, but to take an external observer

position when protagonists are referred to with the first person pronoun *I* or the third person pronoun *he* (Brunyé, Ditman, Mahoney, Augustyn, & Taylor, 2009; Ditman, Brunyé, Mahoney, & Taylor, 2010). In addition, readers are most likely to simulate a protagonist's emotions when that protagonist is referred to with *you* (Brunyé, Ditman, Mahoney, & Taylor, 2011). These findings suggest that second person pronouns would be more successful in eliciting a mediated witness experience than first person or third person pronouns. However, within the genre of journalism, the use of pronouns is rather inflexible. The use of a second person pronoun to refer to a person involved in a news event would falsely imply that the addressee (i.e., the reader) *is* that person, while the use of a first person pronoun to refer to a person involved would falsely imply that the journalist himself is that person. Hence, for journalists, choosing a referential expression most often means choosing between a third person pronoun and a noun.

However, as Sanford and Emmott (2012: 165-166) remark, there are more linguistic strategies than the use of second person pronouns that might prompt an internal perspective. They describe how verbs of perception, detailed descriptions, deictic expressions, and thought representations can put readers in a field position as well, even in a third person narration. The results of the present study implicate that in news narratives, journalists use pronouns to refer to eyewitnesses and nouns to refer to non-eyewitnesses as an alternative strategy to draw the reader close to eyewitnesses to shocking news events. The use of referential expressions can thus be seen as an important facilitator of a mediated witness experience within the boundaries set by the genre: it encourages the reader to take an internal field position and to virtually observe the news events from up close, while reassuring that the journalist is reporting these events and perceptions from the outside.

Interesting in this respect is the final sentence of excerpt 3.2, taken from a journalistic narrative: "She wondered: How do you explain unimaginable horror to the most innocent?" This example

provides a complex interplay of multiple viewpoints; the construction itself represents both the journalist's and the eyewitness's viewpoints, and the second person pronoun refers to the eyewitness's viewpoint as well as to a generic viewpoint. Importantly, the use of a second person pronoun does not violate journalistic conventions because the reference to the eyewitness is made by the eyewitness herself. The journalist strategically embeds the viewpoint of the eyewitness into his own viewpoint and allows her to appeal to the viewpoint of the reader by the use of a second person pronoun. This is in line with the finding that in present-day journalism, linguistic elements that express a certain degree of subjectivity, including second person pronouns, are mainly used in stretches of discourse that can be attributed to sources (Vis, Sanders, & Spooren, 2012). The construction with *you* can thus be seen as an inventive technique that encourages the reader to (temporarily) take an internal field position and to simulate being in the position of the eyewitness during the attack, without disregarding journalism's demand of factuality. Observations like this ask for additional, in-depth analyses of pronoun use in journalistic narratives to disclose the full range of techniques journalists employ, within clear genre boundaries of legitimacy and transparency, to increase the proximity between their own viewpoints, eyewitnesses' viewpoints, and readers' viewpoints. In addition, experimental studies assessing the actual impact of pronouns and grammatical roles would substantially advance our understanding of how they put readers in the position of a mediated witness.

In sum, the present study shows that journalists strategically use grammar and reference in news narratives to describe shocking news events from the viewpoints of eyewitnesses. Note that referential expressions are not the only linguistic strategies that journalists have at their disposal to describe news events from the viewpoints of eyewitnesses and to elicit empathy. Among the list of linguistic elements that add to the representation of viewpoint are adverbs, demonstratives, negations, prepositions, and connectives (e.g., Fillmore, 1997; Dancygier, 2012b; Sanders, Sanders, & Sweetser,

2012; Langacker, 2008). Regarding the elicitation of reader's empathy, the use of adjectives, reflexives, and reciprocal verbs might play a role as well (Kuno, 1987). In addition, Hartley (1982: 90-94) discusses how the labeling of news sources as members of a family offers the audience a potential point of identification with these sources. Future studies on viewpoint representation could examine the use of these and other strategies in news narratives. Such studies are important to attain a comprehensive view on the way language is used in these narratives to allow the audience to understand what those who have been affected by shocking events have gone through.

Appendix 3A Pairwise Comparisons Using the Marascuilo Procedure

Critical ranges for the Marascuilo procedure are calculated as follows (where *p* is proportion and *n* is sample size):

$$\text{Critical range} = \sqrt{\chi_U^2}\sqrt{\frac{p_j(1-p_j)}{n_j} + \frac{p_{j'}(1-p_{j'})}{n_{j'}}}$$

The critical ranges for the pairwise comparisons between eyewitnesses and non-eyewitnesses are listed in the table below. A difference between two proportions is statistically significant if its absolute value exceeds the critical range value.

Table 3A: Pairwise Comparisons for Protagonists in Subject Position in News Narratives

Comparison	Absolute difference ($p_1 - p_2$; $p_1 - p_3$ ...)	Critical range	Significant
eyewitnesses > victims	0.359	0.094	yes
eyewitnesses > perpetrator	0.272	0.102	yes
eyewitnesses > police	0.391	0.090	yes
eyewitnesses > authorities	0.444	0.084	yes
eyewitnesses > others	0.361	0.094	yes

Chapter 4

A Cognitive Linguistic Model of Narrative News Discourse

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4 A Cognitive Linguistic Model of Narrative News Discourse

Abstract

This study identifies the linguistic strategies used in news narratives to represent the viewpoints of eyewitnesses to shocking news events and describes how these strategies invite readers to vicariously experience these events as mediated witnesses. A cognitive linguistic model for the analysis of narrative news discourse is developed and then applied to an American and a Dutch news narrative about (different) spree killings. The analysis shows how verbs of perception and cognition are used to describe the events from the viewpoints of eyewitnesses. To blend the viewpoints of eyewitnesses with the journalist's viewpoint, Free Indirect Discourse is used in the American narrative whereas present tense narration of cognition and perception is used in the Dutch narrative. The analysis furthermore reveals that reported discourse may serve two different functions in news narratives: (1) a dramatizing function by accessing a Narrative-Internal Discourse Space which represents what news sources were saying and thinking while the news events took place and (2) a legitimizing function by accessing a Narrative-External Discourse Space which represents the information exchange between news sources and journalist after the events took place. The present study thus clarifies the sophisticated relation between the form and function of news narratives.

4.1 Introduction

On July 20, 2012, a gunman killed twelve people and wounded another seventy in a movie theater in Aurora, Colorado. The next day,

The Washington Post published an article about the shooting of which the intro is presented below.

Excerpt 4.1

> There was a thump, the emergency-exit door swinging open. Then a flood of light pouring into the darkness. A figure wearing a gas mask and black body armor stepped into the theater. The man paused. In the second row, Jennifer Seeger thought he might have stood there a full minute. "Maybe he's just dressing up and being silly," she thought. After all, this was a midnight showing of "The Dark Knight Rises," Hollywood's latest Batman movie.
>
> (The Washington Post 2012, July 21)

Remarkably, these sentences do not provide the reader with any newsworthy information: they do not answer the questions that are by convention addressed in the lead paragraph of news reports about what happened, when it happened, where it happened, and who was responsible (Bell, 1991: 175-185). A narrative format is employed instead to elucidate *how* the shooting happened, which is indicated by the chronological ordering of events and the description of these events from the perspective of an eyewitness.

According to Peelo (2006), news narratives about high-impact criminal acts serve a specific function: they allow readers to engage emotionally with the people involved and invite them to virtually experience the news events as *mediated witnesses*. The present study aims to identify and describe the linguistic strategies that are used in news narratives to fulfill this function. Building on the cognitive linguistic theory of Mental Spaces (Fauconnier, 1985), we will build upon models for the analysis of narrative discourse (Sanders et al., 2012; Dancygier, 2012a) to develop a model for the analysis of these

journalistic stories. This model will then be applied to two news narratives about mass shootings in order to examine how language is used in these narratives to turn readers into mediated witnesses to the shootings.

4.1.1 Journalistic Narratives: Reconstructing Reality

As opposed to fictional narratives, journalistic narratives do not construct realities but (are supposed to) reconstruct "the" reality. The relationship between reality and journalistic reports about that reality is by nature a problematic one, and it is compromised even further when journalists attempt to engage their readers by employing fictionalizing literary techniques to report upon facts (see Bird & Dardenne, 1988; Roeh, 1989 for discussions).

One of the key issues in discussions about the ethics and aesthetics of journalistic narratives revolves around the *absent reporter*. Journalists usually do not witness news events themselves but recount these events in a detailed and vivid way that suggests their presence at the scene (Frank, 1999). In addition, they provide compelling narrative accounts of what happened by describing the events from the viewpoints of people involved, thus simulating a certain degree of omniscience (Frank, 1999). These strategies are powerful means to engage readers (Van Krieken, Hoeken, et al., 2015), but may also raise questions about the veracity of the report.

That is why, as Greenberg (2014: 529) puts it, journalistic narratives set "the double constraints of aesthetic persuasiveness through concrete detail, and ethical persuasiveness through the attempt to test details against an external reference point; an 'other' ". Precisely these constraints make it relevant to study the relationship between the form and function of journalistic narratives, as they force journalists to carefully balance between the use of strategies to engage readers on the one hand and the use of source attribution strategies to

meet the genre's demand of factuality on the other hand. Analyzing these linguistic strategies should clarify how journalistic narratives function as mediators of experience within the boundaries of nonfiction.

To analyze the strategies journalists use to turn readers into mediated witnesses to shocking news events, we build on the cognitive linguistic approach of Mental Space Theory (Fauconnier, 1985; Sweetser & Fauconnier, 1996) and its derivative Blending Theory (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002). The integrated concepts of *embedded mental spaces* and *blended mental spaces* have proved essential in the understanding of text-linguistic phenomena at the level of clauses and smaller stretches of discourse (Fauconnier, 1985; Sweetser & Fauconnier, 1996; Sanders et al., 2012). Crucially, they are equally applicable to the analysis of larger discourse entities such as news stories (Sanders, 2010) and even complete fictional novels (Dancygier, 2012a). In this paper, we specifically want to argue that the notions of space embedding and space blending help explain how experience can be mediated by journalistic narratives: space embedding entails the representation of news events through the viewpoint of a person other than the journalist, while space blending strategically merges the viewpoint of a news actor into the viewpoint of the journalist, with the effect that the news events are related through this blended viewpoint (Sanders, 2010). These strategies, we will argue, enable the journalist to attribute information to sources in order to legitimize the narrative reconstructions, while simultaneously enabling the public to vicariously experience distant news events from up close, as mediated witnesses.

4.1.2 Narrative Discourse: Constructing Realities

Information in narrative discourse that is valid from the perspective of a particular character is not necessarily valid from the perspective of

other characters or the narrator; it is not necessarily "true" or "real" but may be restricted to a person or situation, or it may be shared by a particular character and the narrator (Sanders & Redeker, 1996). Mental Space Theory offers a framework to account for such restrictions in terms of embedded viewpoint spaces and blended viewpoint spaces (Fauconnier, 1985; Sweetser & Fauconnier, 1996). Elaborating these basic notions, Dancygier (2012a: 183) argues that narrative realities are constructed by and become meaningful by an ongoing process of negotiation of such viewpoints.

In any given communicative discourse, a Basic Space can be assumed that represents the viewpoint of the Speaker. From this Basic Space, embedded spaces can be opened up by linguistic elements that function as space builders. What follows from the use of a space builder is an embedded space that represents a space of restricted validity: a piece of content that is possibly true, not true, true in another time or place, or true for some person other than the Speaker (Sanders & Redeker, 1996). In narrative discourse, the first embedded space is a Narrative Space in which all narrative events take place (Main Narrative Space in terms of Dancygier, 2012a; Content Domain in terms of Sanders et al., 2012). Within the Narrative Space, characters can be selected as (embedded) narrator, a phenomenon indicated as Ego-Viewpoint by Dancygier (2012a).

Importantly, the conceptual distance between the Narrative Space and the Basic Space varies between stories and often even within stories. Parameters affecting this distance include choice of grammatical person (first versus third), verb tense (present versus past), and the profiling of one or several character viewpoints (or not). The distance between the Narrative Space and the Basic Space is responsible for the negotiation of viewpoints in narrative discourse. In written narratives, third person past tense narration is default, which represents considerable epistemic and temporal distance between the Basic Space and the Narrative Space. In this case, the role of characters' viewpoints is reduced, while there is ample room for the narrator to intervene, comment, and reflect. Deviating from this

default by choosing other linguistic options strategically reduces this distance, as we will show in the following sections.

4.1.3 A Model for the Cognitive Linguistic Analysis of Journalistic Narratives

In journalistic narratives, the negotiation of viewpoints is more complex than in fictional narratives. Two fundamental issues, both pertaining to journalism's unique relation with reality, underlie this complexity. First, the Basic Space in journalistic narratives always represents the viewpoint of the journalist who, by definition, coincides with the "real-life" author of the narrative. The Basic Space of journalistic narratives thus represents the here and now of reality. Second, journalistic narratives should only represent content in the Narrative Space that is factually true in the Basic Space as well. These two issues have consequences for the basic set-up of spaces and the negotiation of viewpoints. We therefore present an extended model for the cognitive linguistic analysis of journalistic narratives. The basic configuration of spaces is displayed in Figure 4.1.

The Basic Space represents the deictic here and now viewpoint of the actual journalistic narrator in the present. Embedded in the Basic Space is the Narrative Space, which represents the viewpoint of a Virtual Observer: a derivative of the narrator projected into the narrative who observes the different narrative events as they unfold and mediates them. The presence of a Virtual Observer in the Narrative Space has to be assumed in order to account for the absent reporter.

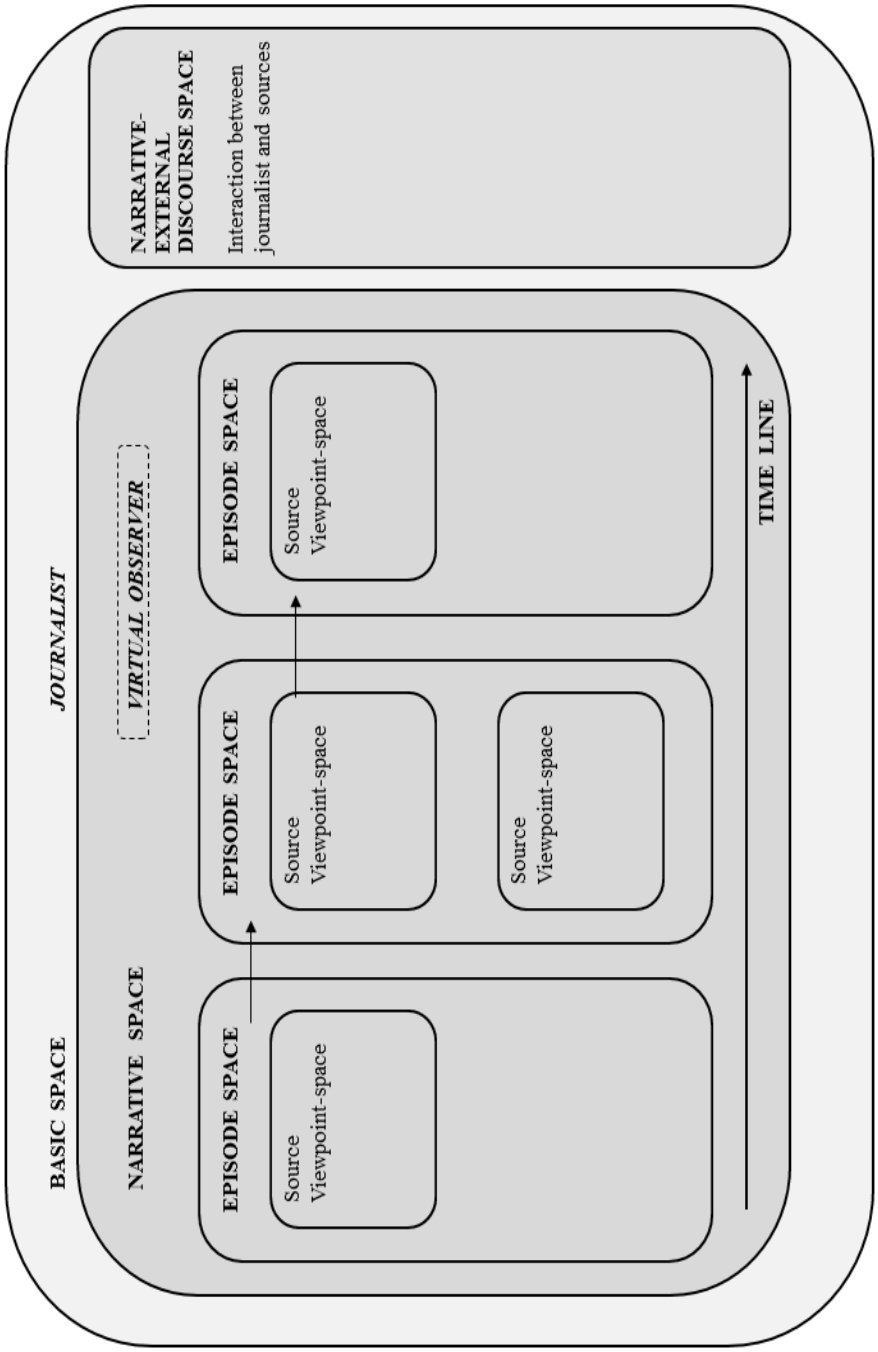

Figure 4.1: Basic Configuration of Spaces in Journalistic Narratives

Within the Narrative Space, Episode Spaces represent the subsequent narrative episodes on the time line which the Virtual Observer experiences. Each Episode Space has a distinct topology in terms of time, space, and characters involved. Transfer from one Episode Space to another is typically constructed by one or more of the following linguistic signals: full noun reference to a main character, indication of place, or a temporal adverb (Sanders, 1990).

Since embedding in narrative discourse is a recursive mechanism (cf. Sanders et al., 2012), Episode Spaces may in turn include the viewpoints of characters (news sources) that play a role in it; for within each Episode Space, embedded Source Viewpoint-spaces can be opened up that represent the thoughts, perceptions, or utterances of a particular person. These Source Viewpoint-spaces are thus filled with information that is valid from the point of view of this particular person, but not necessarily from the point of view of other sources, the Virtual Observer, or the journalist. Several linguistic strategies have been described that signal viewpoint embedding. Important strategies are the change of verb tense, the use of cognitive and perceptive verbs, and various instruments of speech and thought representation (Sweetser & Fauconnier, 1996; Sanders & Redeker, 1996; Dancygier, 2012a; Sweetser, 2012).

Under some circumstances, space embedding implicates space blending (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002). In particular, a source's viewpoint can be percolated up to the Basic Space and blend with the narrator's viewpoint. Free Indirect Mode (Nikiforidou, 2012) and present tense narration of cognition and perception (Dancygier, 2012a) are two main strategies to blend viewpoints. The effect of these blending strategies is that the reader has access to the story events through a viewpoint space shared by narrator and source (Dancygier, 2012a: 96-100). Space blending thus moves beyond the mere representation of a source's viewpoint through embedding; it allows the source's viewpoint to (temporarily) structure the narrative at the level of the Basic Space. In other words, the narrator draws the reader close to specific sources or even inside their heads, thus

guiding readers' identification with these persons (Cohen, 2001; Oatley, 1999) and facilitating their transformation into mediated witnesses to news events.

In doing so, journalists have to attribute information to the sources in order to guarantee the truthfulness of their narratives. Such attributions, which often take the form of quotations (Vis, Sanders, & Spooren, 2015), take the reader temporarily outside the narrative in order to demonstrate that the journalist and the eyewitness exchanged information about the news events, somewhere between the occurrence of these events and the journalistic narrating of these events. In terms of Mental Space structures, attributions give access to a Narrative-External Discourse Space. As can be seen in Figure 4.1, this Discourse Space is positioned outside of the Narrative Space to indicate that the interaction between journalist and source is not part of the narrative itself. As such, the Narrative-External Discourse Space establishes the crucial link between reality and the narrative reconstruction of that reality.

In the following, we will apply our framework to two journalistic narratives about mass shootings. It will be demonstrated how the linguistic strategies employed by the journalists lead to embedding and blending in these narratives which aim to turn readers into mediated witnesses to these events within the boundaries of the genre.

4.2 Materials

An American and a Dutch news narrative, both covering a (different) spree killing, were selected. The American narrative was taken from *The Washington Post* (2007, April 19).[9] This article covers the spree

[9] This article is part of a series of articles about the Virginia Tech Shooting for which *The Washington Post* won the 2008 Pulitzer Prize in the category 'Breaking News Reporting'.

killing on the Virginia Tech campus on April 16, 2007 and was published three days after the shooting. The article can be characterized as a relatively long narrative (5,385 words) which covers the entire day on which the spree killing took place, from the morning rituals of the perpetrator and his roommates up to the investigation of the perpetrator's room by the police that evening. Of particular interest for this study is a section headed "Popping sounds in the hallway". Since this part of the narrative describes the actual attacks on the students and teachers who were gathered in the lecture rooms of Virginia Tech, it is the best-suited section to study the linguistic elements that are used to transform readers into mediated witnesses. The analysis of the *Washington Post* article was therefore restricted to this section (1,538 words).

The second narrative was taken from the Dutch quality newspaper *NRC Handelsblad* (2011, April 11). This narrative covers a spree killing in a shopping mall in Alphen aan den Rijn, a town in the western Netherlands, on April 9, 2011. The Alphen aan den Rijn and Virginia Tech shootings are of a comparable nature and impact: in both cases, the perpetrator was a lone wolf who went on a rampage in a crowded place, and in both cases, the rampage resulted in the deadliest spree killing caused by an individual in the history of each nation. The Dutch narrative was published two days after the spree killing took place.[10] It covers the spree killing from its beginning, when the perpetrator parked his car near the shopping mall, until the end of the day, when the police were investigating the perpetrator's home and the crime scene. The narrative focuses mainly on the attacks inside the shopping mall and was therefore analyzed in its entirety (1,238 words).

[10] Since the spree killing took place on a Saturday and no newspapers are issued on Sunday in the Netherlands, this narrative was one of the first articles about the event to be published.

4.3 Analyses

First, the narratives are examined in terms of Episode Spaces and the embedding of Source Viewpoint-spaces. The analysis then moves on to the blending of viewpoints and the construction of Narrative-External Discourse Spaces.

4.3.1 Episode Analysis and Embedding of Source Viewpoint-spaces

From the episode analysis of the *Washington Post* article, an overall pattern of space building emerges which can be summarized as follows: from the journalist's Basic Space, six different Episode Spaces are opened up within the Narrative Space. The first Episode Space introduces the viewpoint of the Virtual Observer. In the subsequent five Episode Spaces, the Virtual Observer presents a generic viewpoint on the students and teachers inside the lecture rooms. From these generic viewpoint spaces, embedded Source Viewpoint-spaces are opened up by the Virtual Observer representing the particular viewpoints of individual eyewitnesses. Throughout the narrative, the Virtual Observer moves through time from space to space, chronologically following the perpetrator's route through the building. Excerpt 4.2 below illustrates the recursive process of embedding in the *Washington Post* article.

Excerpt 4.2

(1) The first attack came in Room 206, advanced hydrology taught by Loganathan. There were 13 graduate students in the class, all from the civil engineering department. There was no warning, no foreboding sounds down the hallway. (…)

> (2) In Jamie Bishop's German class, they could hear the popping sounds. What was that? Some kind of joke? Construction noises? More pops. (…) (3) Trey Perkins knocked over a couple of desks and tried to take cover. (4) No way I can survive this, he thought.

From the Basic Space, a Narrative Space is construed in which all narrative events are represented. In (1), an Episode Space is opened up by the location marker *"in Room 206"*. The following clauses introduce the viewpoint of the Virtual Observer: *"There was no warning, no foreboding sounds down the hallway"*. Only the Virtual Observer has access to the future episodes and is therefore able to "notice" the absence of foreboding sounds. After the Virtual Observer's viewpoint is constructed, a new Episode Space is opened up in (2) by the location marker *"In Jamie Bishop's German class"*. This is followed by a representation of the class's thoughts from a generic viewpoint: *"What was that? Some kind of joke? Construction noises? More pops."* In (3) and (4), embedding to a deeper level takes place: an eyewitness is introduced in (3), whose Source Viewpoint-space is opened up by the direct thought in (4): *"No way I can survive this"*.

Note that the Episode Spaces have subsequent positions on the time line but can also partly overlap. This is the case in the following excerpt.

Excerpt 4.3

> (1) The scene in the [German] classroom "was brutal," Perkins recalled. Most of the students were dead. He saw a few who were bleeding but conscious and tried to save them. He took off his gray hoodie sweat shirt and wrapped it around a male student's leg.

> (2) The French class next door was also devastated by then. Couture-Nowak, whose husband was a horticulture professor at Tech, was dead. Most of Kristina Heeger's classmates were dead. (…)
> (3) Like those in other classes, the French students had heard the banging, or pops.

The German classroom episode ends in (1) with observations and acts by a witness after the shooter has left the room; (2) marks a new Episode, transferring from the German to the French classroom by the place indication *"The French class next door"*. The temporal expression *"by then"* indicates what the shooter has caused in another classroom by this particular point in time. The Virtual Observer did not immediately follow the perpetrator to the class next door but lingered in the German classroom to observe a young man's attempts to save his classmates. Thus, the Virtual Observer has stayed a little too long in the German classroom-space to observe the shooting in the French room next door and can only observe the results upon arrival there.

Then, in (3), a remarkable shift back in time to the actual shooting takes place, described from the generic viewpoint of the French class students. This interpretation is motivated by the past perfect *"had heard"*, which takes the reader back to an earlier moment on the time line to signify what the French students were hearing at that point. This perception takes place in Episode Space 3 at the moment the shooting takes place in Episode Space 2. The use of the past perfect in (3) thus shows how the Virtual Observer has access to (multiple) Episode Spaces at any moment during the events, much like an omniscient narrator. While the journalist determines at which point in time we access an Episode Space, the Virtual Observer fills in the gaps caused by the linear linkage of events.

The analysis furthermore reveals that verbs of perception and cognition are the journalist's main instruments to embed spaces that

represent the viewpoints of eyewitnesses. Consider, for example, excerpt 4.4 below:

> Excerpt 4.4
>
> (1) After every shot, Violand thought, "Okay, the next one is me." (2) But shot after shot, and he felt nothing. He played dead.

In (1), the cognitive verb *thought* opens up an embedded Source Viewpoint-space. This embedded space represents event related information from the point of view of an eyewitness, with the implication that the validity of the information is restricted to this person (Sanders & Redeker, 1996). In this case, the information is conveyed through a direct thought (*"Okay, the next one is me."*). The direct thought expresses the impact of the events on the eyewitness by pointing out the stark contrast between the life threatening situation on the one hand and the witness's submissive, apathetic state of mind on the other hand. In (2), the perceptive verb *felt* is used to continue the representation of events from the viewpoint of the eyewitness.

Figure 4.2 represents the configuration of Episode Spaces and Source Viewpoint-spaces in the *Washington Post* article. Note that Episode Spaces 1, 2, and 3 represent the Episode Spaces discussed so far. For reasons of clarity, the Episode Spaces that are not discussed (4, 5, and 6) are not elaborated in the figure. The dashed arrow signifies the shift back in time as an effect of the past perfect.

From the episode analysis of the *NRC Handelsblad* narrative, a similar overall pattern of space building emerges: from the journalist's Basic Space, seven different Episode Spaces are opened up. However, in contrast to the *Washington Post* article, these spaces are not elaborated in much detail and, with the exception of one Episode Space, do not structure generic viewpoints of groups of persons. Instead, they function primarily as spatial and temporal anchors of the

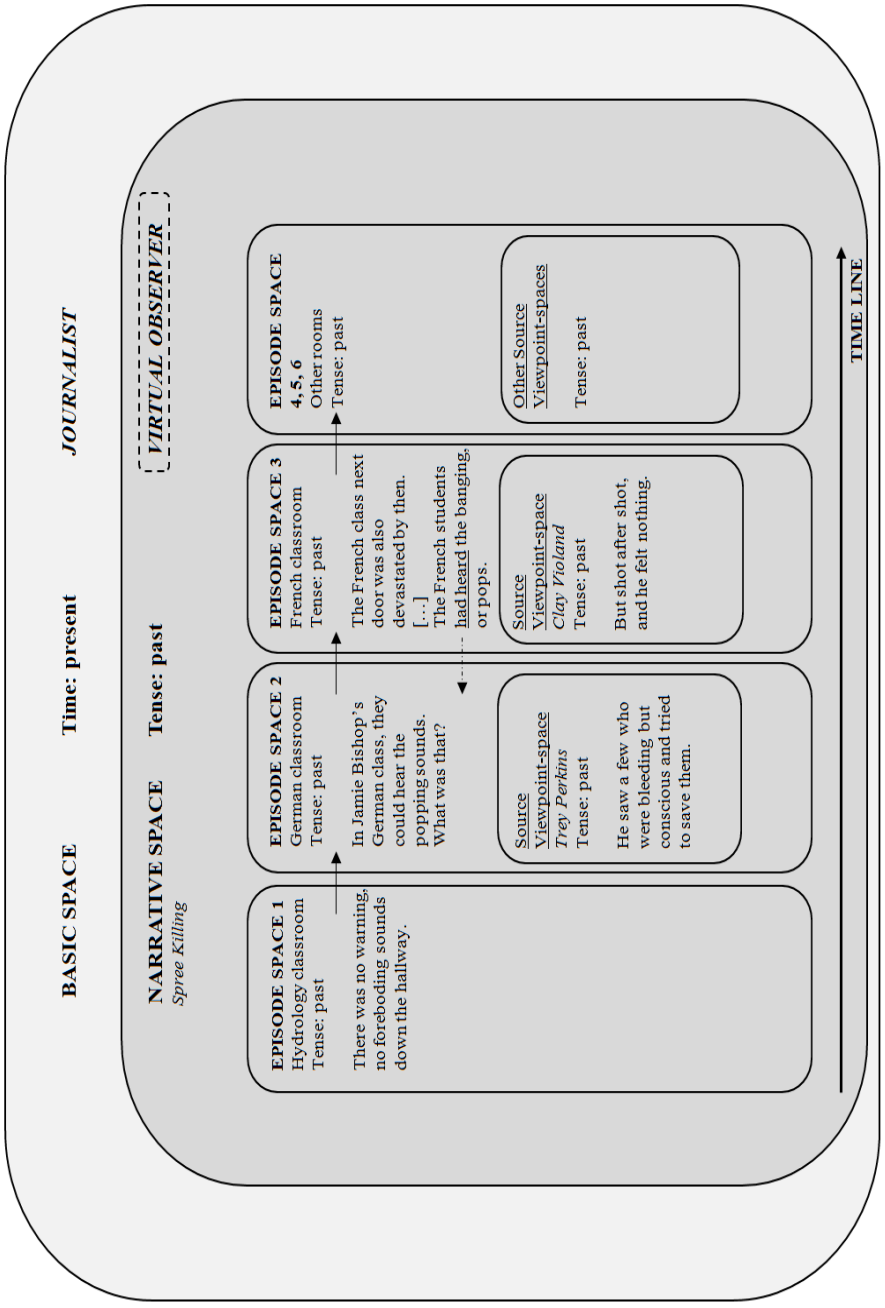

Figure 4.2: Configuration of Episode Spaces and Source Viewpoint-Spaces in the *Washington Post* Narrative

narrative that help the reader to form a mental image of the perpetrator's path through the shopping mall. Excerpt 4.5 below illustrates the embedding of spaces in the *NRC Handelsblad* article (see Appendix 4A for the original excerpts in Dutch).

Excerpt 4.5

(1) Tristan van der V. parks his black Mercedes at the Carmensquare near shopping mall De Ridderhof around twelve o'clock Saturday afternoon. He carries three guns with him. He gets out and shoots someone. He then ascends a staircase of stone and enters the shopping mall through a door. (2) In his car, which is later being investigated by the Bomb Squad, is a note. It states that there are explosives in three other shopping malls in Alphen aan den Rijn.

(3) The indoor shopping mall is crowded. Van der V. calmly passes het Kruidvat, de Zeeman, de Hubo. Shooting. Glass flies around. People fall, run away, duck away. He walks on.

(4) An older man escapes in front of him and ducks into de Hubo. (5) He was just with his granddaughter, but he has now lost her. Quickly he gets up again. (6) He sees a man and a woman lying on the ground, bathed in blood. He sees fear, panic.

In (1), an Episode Space is opened up by the location marker *"at the Carmensquare"*. Note that (2) interrupts the chronological ordering of events by describing an observation made by the Virtual Observer in a subsequent Episode Space (*"which is later being investigated"*). This shift indicates that in the Dutch article, too, the Virtual Observer has

access to (multiple) Episode Spaces at any moment during the events. In (3), the reader is taken inside the shopping mall at the moment the shooting begins. An eyewitness is introduced in (4). The tense shift from present to past in (5) combined with the temporal adverb *"just"* signals the embedding of the eyewitness's viewpoint (see Sanders, 2010). In (6), the narration is continued from the Source Viewpoint-space of this man, as indicated by the perceptive verb *sees*.

4.3.2 Viewpoint blending

The embedding of Episode Spaces and Source Viewpoint-spaces facilitates imagination, and this imagination is in turn dramatized when the eyewitnesses' viewpoints are integrated in the journalist's viewpoint through space blending. In the Dutch narrative, present tense narration of cognition and perception is used as a strategy to blend viewpoints.

Similar to the American narrative, the Dutch narrative frequently uses verbs of perception and cognition to represent the viewpoints of eyewitnesses. Although all perceptions and cognitions took place in the past, they are being narrated in the present tense, which is atypical for printed news stories (Bell, 1991: 202) and must be interpreted as *historical present* (Fleischman, 1990, 1985). The historical present compresses the temporal distance between the Basic Space and the Narrative Space. As a result, the use of verbs of cognition and perception provides an account of the events through the actual, *online* thoughts and perceptions of the eyewitnesses (Dancygier, 2012a: 70). Consider, for example, excerpt 4.6 below.

Excerpt 4.6

(1) In the C1000 stockroom, on the second floor, Lennart Schellinghout is working. (2) He hears cracks.

In (2), the present tense verb *hears* percolates a past perception of the eyewitness introduced in (1) into the journalist's here and now; in other words: their viewpoints are blended. The events inside the shopping mall are in great part narrated through such mixed viewpoints, which adds a strong sense of immediacy to the narrative and invites the reader to vicariously observe the events from up close.

In the American narrative, similar effects are achieved through the use of a different blending technique. Excerpt 4.7 below provides an example.

Excerpt 4.7

(1) The small group of 10 in Haiyan Cheng's computer class heard the loud banging outside. (2) She thought it was construction noise at first, but it distracted her. (3) No, they were pops. Then silence, then more pops.

From the generic viewpoint in (1), a Source Viewpoint-space is opened up by the cognitive verb *thought* in (2). Although the tense in (3) is past (and thus related to the journalist's deictic coordinates), the combination with a speech element (*no*) and informal lexicon (*pops*) indicates that the viewpoint of the eyewitness is blended with the journalist's viewpoint in a case of Free Indirect Thought: the speech and informal lexicon represent the eyewitness's viewpoint, whereas the past tense represents the journalist's viewpoint. The Free Indirect Mode "shift[s] the perspective to a vantage point close to or inside the narrated events, with an effect of zooming in on the events" (Nikiforidou, 2012: 180). Without going so far as to represent past events in the journalist's present, the Free Indirect Mode allows for the representation of other persons' inner states (Toolan, 1990: 73). In the Dutch article, Free Indirect Mode was not found, while several occurrences were found throughout the *Washington Post* article. Thus,

it appears that two distinct types of viewpoint blending explain different ways in which the reader is drawn close to the news events through the consciousnesses of eyewitnesses.

4.3.3 Narrative-External Discourse Space

The representation of eyewitnesses' viewpoints through space embedding and blending dramatizes the narratives. As argued above, in the genre of journalism, the use of such strategies calls for attribution. Consider excerpt 4.4 of the *Washington Post* article again, repeated and extended below as excerpt 4.8:

> Excerpt 4.8
>
> (1) After every shot, Violand thought, "Okay, the next one is me." (2) But shot after shot, and he felt nothing. He played dead.
>
> (3) "The room was silent except for the haunting sound of moans, some quiet crying, and someone muttering: 'It's okay. It's going to be okay. They will be here soon,'" he recalled. (4) The gunman circled again and seemed to be unloading a second round into the wounded. (5) Violand thought he heard the gunman reload three times. He could not hold back odd thoughts: "I wonder what a gun wound feels like. I hope it doesn't hurt. I wonder if I'll die slow or fast."

Parts (1) and (2) might raise suspicions among readers about the truthfulness of the article. It is, after all, impossible for the journalist to enter the mind of the eyewitness, but the direct thought suggests the opposite holds true. The succeeding sentence affirms the factual status

of the narrative: the direct speech followed by the attribution *"he recalled"* in (3) indicates that the journalist and the eyewitness exchanged information about the events at a later point in time, somewhere between the shooting and the here and now of the journalistic narrating. This quotation thus gives access to a Narrative-External Discourse Space representing what was said *after* the events took place. The attribution *"he recalled"* clearly indicates that the eyewitness is recollecting what has happened and shifts his role of narrative character to that of news source. Throughout the article, the Narrative-External Discourse Space is accessed multiple times.

Sentence (4) of excerpt 4.8 takes the reader back into the Narrative Space. In (5), the cognitive verb *thought* is used to re-access the viewpoint of the eyewitness, who now returns to his role of narrative character. Again, direct thought is used to represent his mental state during the attack.

Note that in excerpt 4.8 as well as in the other excerpts of the *Washington Post* article, the journalist also employs present tense direct speech and thoughts (e.g., *"I wonder what a gun wound feels like."*). These representations evoke a complete deictic shift such that the time of the utterance or thought is "fictively current" (Davidse & Vandelanotte, 2011: 248). Hence, present tense direct speech and thoughts give access to Narrative-*Internal* Discourse Spaces that represent what a person inside the narrative says or thinks *while the events take place*. Tense, in the American narrative, is thus used strategically to represent events in Narrative-External as well as Narrative-Internal Discourse Spaces. The configuration of Discourse Spaces in the *Washington Post* article is visually represented in Figure 4.3 below (again, Episode Spaces that are not discussed are not elaborated in the figure).

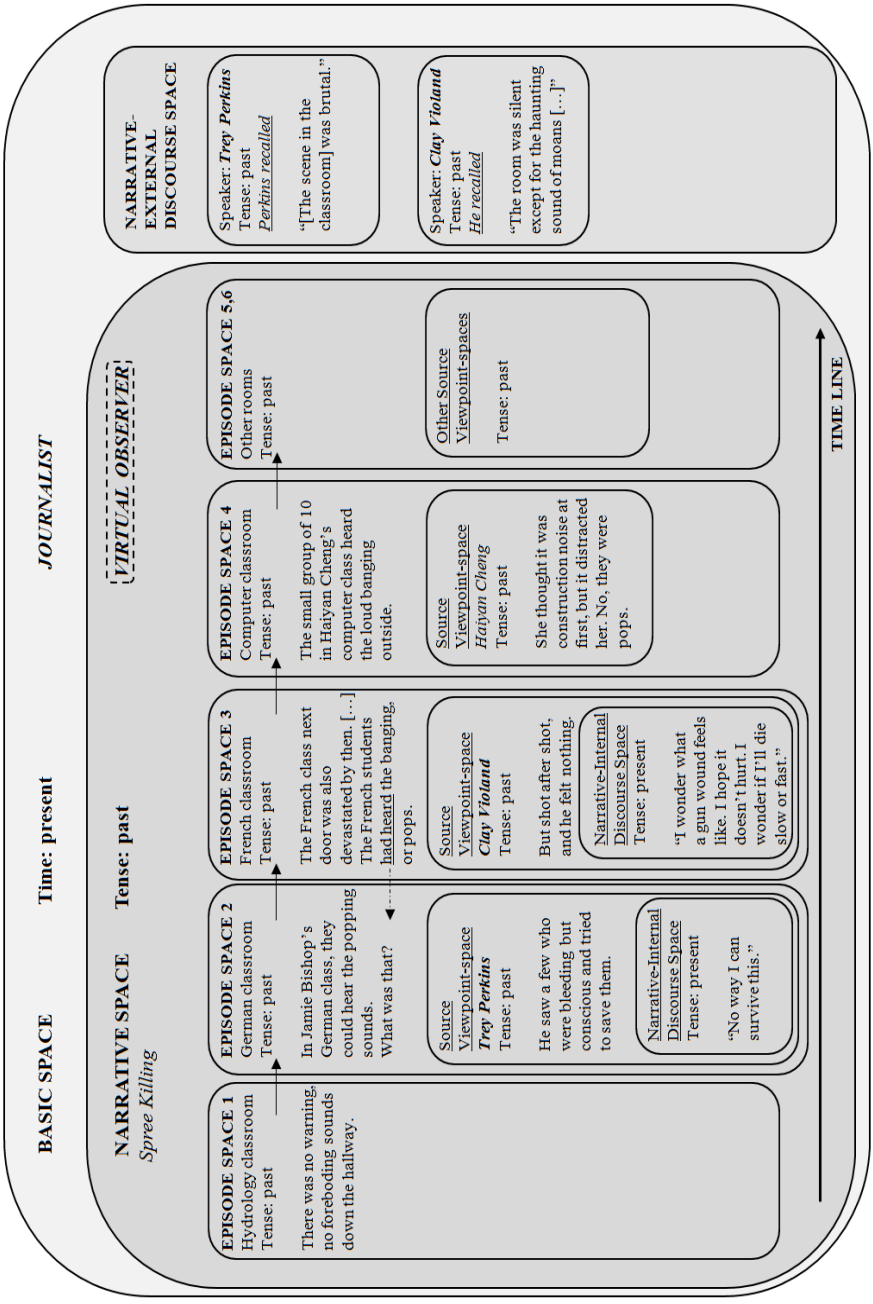

Figure 4.3: Configuration of Episode Spaces, Source Viewpoint-spaces, and Discourse Spaces in the *Washington Post* narrative

In the *NRC Handelsblad* article, too, direct quotations are used to access the Narrative-External Discourse Space. Consider, for example, the following excerpt:

Excerpt 4.9

> (1) The shooter arrives at the Albert Heijn, where Ramon Vleerlaag is getting groceries. (2) He hears something "like a cap gun". (3) Employees direct the costumers to the back of the shop. For about two minutes Vleerlaag hears shots, at irregular intervals. Then he sees the perpetrator. (4) "He walked along the shop, at the checkouts. He looked into the shop, exactly the aisle at the end of which I stood. Then he kneeled, put the gun against the side of his head and fired. He immediately fell down."

In this fragment, the Episode Space "Albert Heijn" is represented with Ramon Vleerlaag as central eyewitness. In (2), the Source Viewpoint-space of this eyewitness is accessed by the perceptive verb *hears*. The partial quotation *"like a cap gun"* shortly accesses the Narrative-External Discourse Space. In (4), this Discourse Space is accessed again by the direct representation of the eyewitness's speech. Note that the shift from the present tense to the past tense clearly indicates that the eyewitness reflects upon the news events from a later point in time. The Narrative-External Discourse Space thus firmly grounds the reconstruction of events through the viewpoint of the eyewitness. Contrary to the *Washington Post* article, no Narrative-Internal Discourse Spaces are set up in the *NRC Handelsblad* article to represent utterances or thoughts of eyewitnesses during the shooting.

Figure 4.4 below provides a visual representation of the configuration of spaces in the *NRC Handelsblad* narrative (Episode Spaces not discussed in the analysis are not elaborated in the figure). Note that the dashed arrow indicates a shift forward in time. The thin

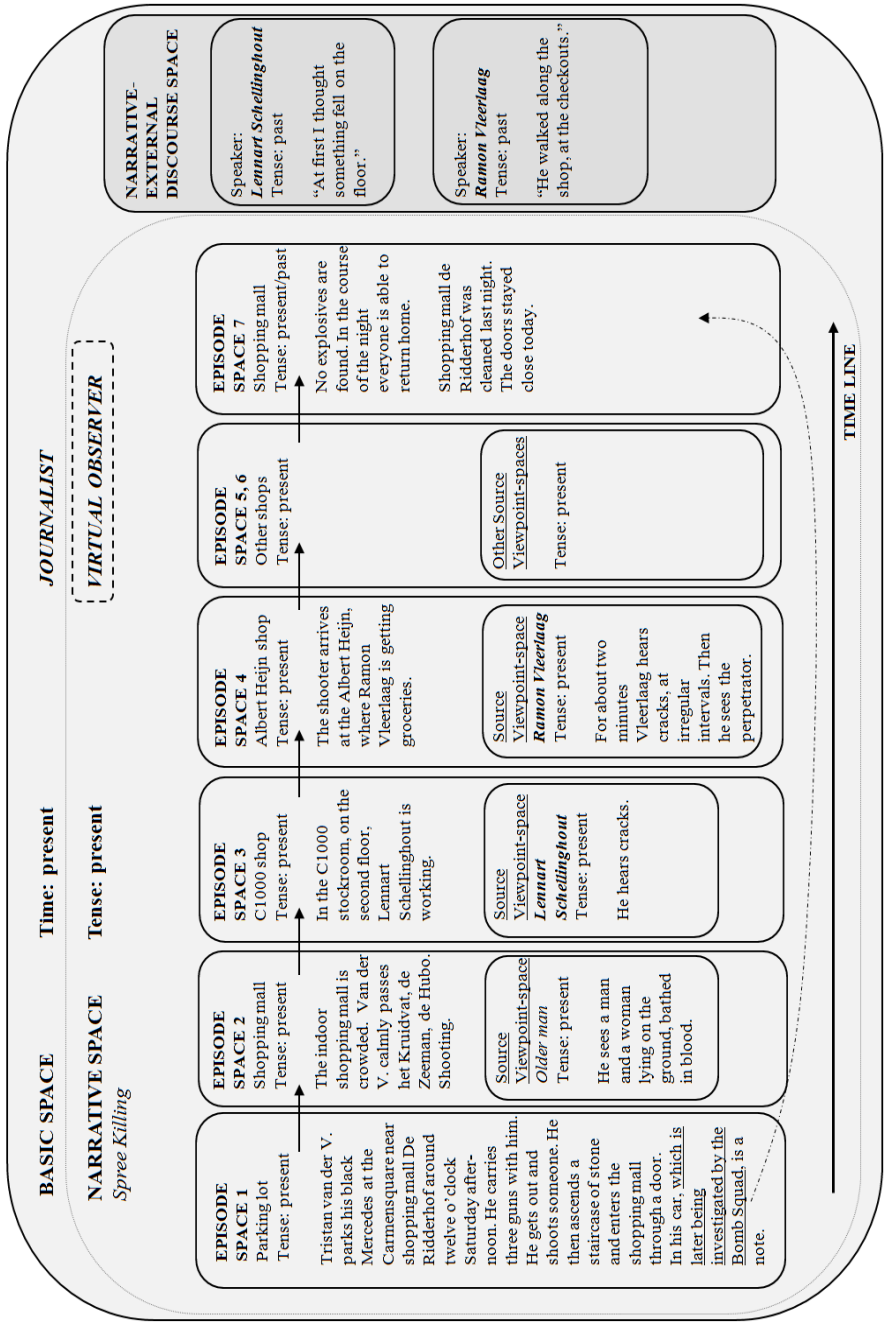

Figure 4.4: **Configuration of Episode Spaces, Source Viewpoint-spaces, and Discourse Space in the *NRC Handelsblad* narrative**

dashed line between the Basic Space and the Narrative Space denotes the temporal compression between these spaces as an effect of the historical present used throughout the narration (Dancygier, 2012a: 75). The conceptual distance between the Basic Space and the Narrative Space is thus less profound in the Dutch article compared to the American article. In the final sentences of the Dutch article, however, a remarkable shift from the present tense to the past tense takes place, as can be seen in excerpt 4.10:

Excerpt 4.10

(1) No explosives are found. In the course of the night everyone is able to return home. (2) Shopping mall de Ridderhof was cleaned last night. The doors stayed close today.

In part (1), the events are narrated from the final Episode Space of the narrative, from the viewpoint of the Virtual Observer. The shift to the past tense in part (2) signals a transition from the Narrative Space to the journalist's here and now Basic Space and solidly locks the shooting events in the past. This tense shift thus quite literally concludes the narrative by terminating the viewpoint blend and *decompressing* the Narrative Space and the Basic Space into separate spaces (cf. Dancygier, 2012a): the Basic Space, present for journalist and reader, is placed at a safe distance from the shooting.

4.4 Conclusion and Discussion

This study underscores the value of Mental Space Theory and its elaborations in the study of narratives. Taking this framework as a starting point, we extended cognitive linguistic models for the analysis

of narrative discourse (Sanders et al., 2012; Dancygier, 2012a) and developed a model that accounts for the genre-specific conventions of journalistic narratives. Application of our extended model to two news narratives about high-impact shootings clarified the sophisticated relation between the form and function of these narratives. First, verbs of perception and cognition are used to access the viewpoints of eyewitnesses to the events. In the American narrative, embedding to a deeper level takes place through the use of direct speech and thoughts in the present tense to express the emotional state of eyewitnesses during the attack. In addition, present tense narration of cognition and perception (in the Dutch narrative) and Free Indirect Mode (in the American narrative) are employed to blend the viewpoints of eyewitnesses with the journalist's viewpoint.

Together, these linguistic strategies provide a highly experiential account of shocking criminal acts. Through processes of embedding and mixing viewpoints, journalistic narratives invite readers to vicariously experience otherwise distant news events from up close, as mediated witnesses (Peelo, 2006). This virtual experience is thought to help a society to recover from high-impact crimes that can be seen as "threats to sacred centres" of that society (Katz, 1987: 68). The present study adds to our understanding of this process by identifying the linguistic strategies that are used in news narratives to transmit the experiences of people affected by crimes to other members of society. This transmission creates a communal sense of right and wrong, thereby both restoring and reinforcing society's moral and cultural values.

An important conclusion from this study is that reported discourse may serve two different functions in news narratives. First, it can serve a dramatizing function by accessing a Narrative-Internal Discourse Space which represents what was said or thought while the news events took place. Second, it can serve a legitimizing function by accessing a Narrative-External Discourse Space which represents the information exchange between source and journalist after the events took place. The Narrative-External Discourse Space should be

considered a distinctive feature of news narratives as it identifies the narrative events and characters as real world events and people. It represents realistic speech in order to demonstrate, rather than describe, what was actually said by news sources (Clark & Gerrig, 1990) and thus to indicate their trustworthiness. As such, this Discourse Space legitimizes the narrative reconstruction of real world events through the viewpoints of these sources. The Narrative-External Discourse Space is, in other words, that what distinguishes nonfictional news narratives from fictional narratives.

The relevance of this external Discourse Space for the genre of news narratives calls for further investigations. Do different types of news narratives, for instance, use similar strategies to construct a Narrative-External Discourse Space? And has this Discourse Space always been a characteristic of news narratives or has it developed under pressure of the objectivity ideal which spread across America and Europe in the early twentieth century? In a follow-up study, we apply our model to a large corpus of historical and contemporary news narratives to answer these and other questions (Van Krieken & Sanders, 2016a).

Our analysis furthermore revealed some noteworthy differences between the news narratives in their configuration and negotiation of viewpoints. We therefore propose that there are at least two structurally different basic types of viewpoint configuration and suggest that this difference in configuration explains the different ways in which viewpoint blends are established. Figure 4.5 below visualizes the first type of viewpoint configuration: *present tense narration* such as in the *NRC Handelsblad* text on the mall shooting.

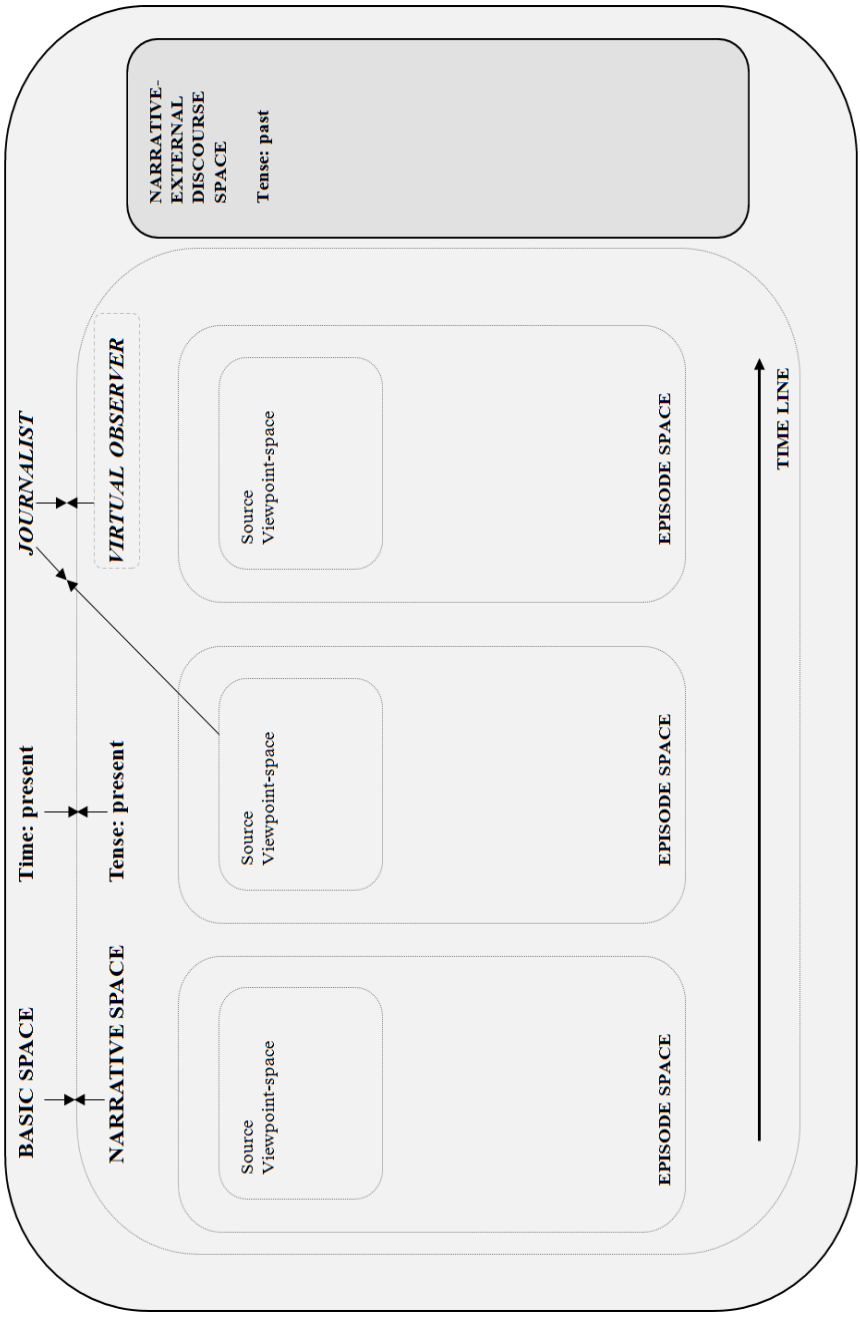

Figure 4.5: Configuration and Blending of Viewpoint Spaces in News Narratives (Type 1)

Figure 4.5 depicts – by means of thin dotted lines and color agreement – a high degree of compression of the Basic Space, Narrative Space, and Episode Spaces as an effect of the present tense in the Narrative Space. This implies that the conceptual distance between the viewpoints of journalist and news sources is much reduced, which facilitates the process of viewpoint blending. In the standard narrative situation, the viewpoint of the journalist blends with the viewpoint of the Virtual Observer such that the observations made by the latter coincide with the narration thereof by the former. If, however, a Source Viewpoint-space is accessed, this source's viewpoint is directly percolated up to the journalist's Basic Space, culminating in a viewpoint blend of source and journalist. In this case, the observations and cognitions of the news source coincide with the narration thereof by the journalist. Hence, in this configuration, the journalist minimizes the role of his own viewpoint by narrating the news events through a viewpoint shared with those who have direct access to the events. Note that the Narrative-External Discourse Space, by the use of past tense, is placed at a larger distance from the Basic Space, which is depicted in Figure 4.5 by a solid line and darker color. Now compare Figure 4.6 below, which visualizes the second type of viewpoint configuration such as in the *Washington Post* text on the school shooting.

Figure 4.6 illustrates the default configuration of viewpoints in *past tense narrations*. The past tense in the Narrative Space creates distance between the Basic Space, Narrative Space, and Episode Spaces. As a result, there is considerable conceptual distance between the viewpoints of journalist, Virtual Observer, and news sources. In this configuration, the Virtual Observer functions as a mediator between the viewpoints of news source and journalist. In using the Free Indirect Mode to represent news sources' speech and thought, the Virtual Observer reduces the distance between source and journalist by collapsing their viewpoints, thus creating liveliness and drama in the narrative.

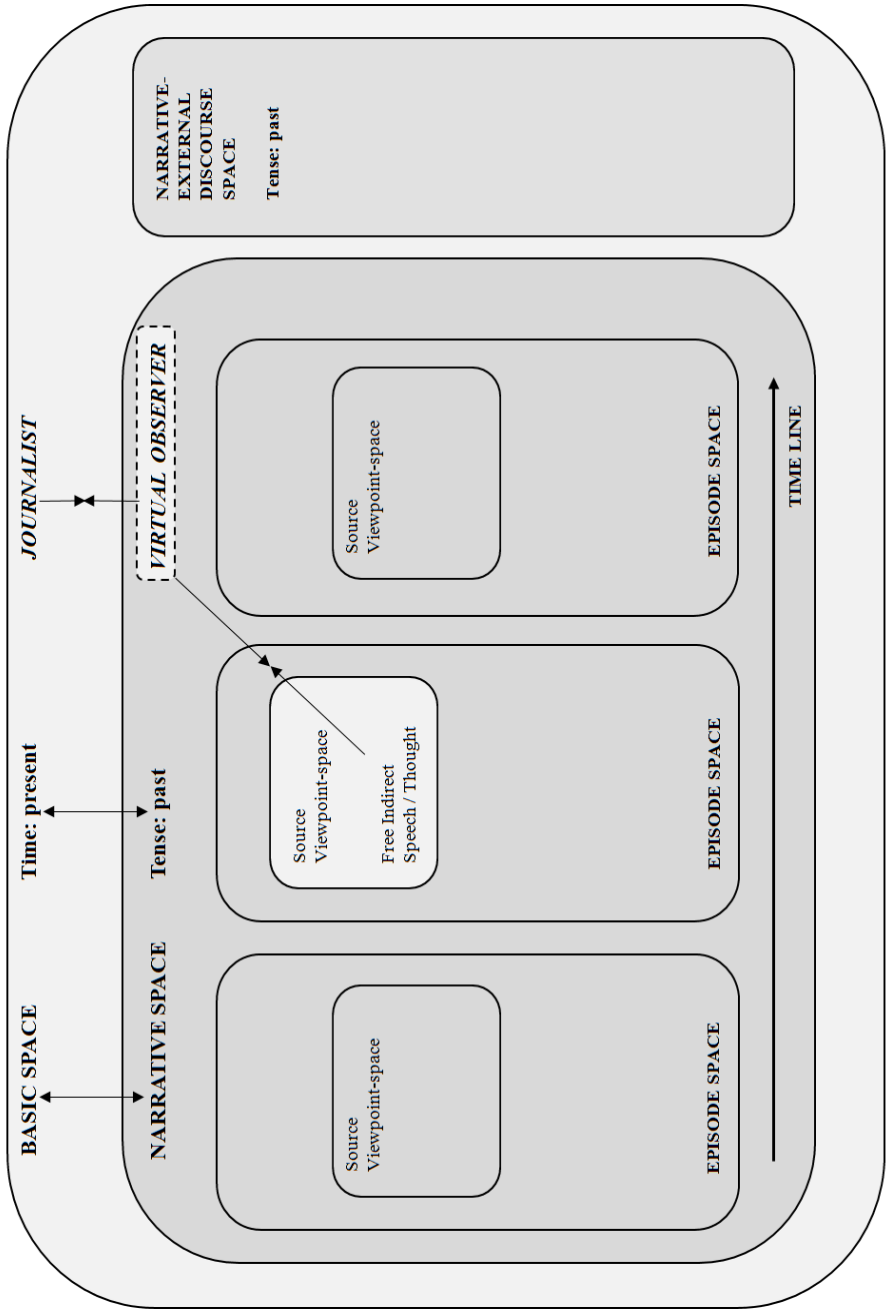

Figure 4.6: Configuration and Blending of Viewpoint Spaces in News Narratives (Type 2)

Our analysis exposed a difference in viewpoint configuration between the Dutch narrative (Type 1) and the American narrative (Type 2). An interesting question is whether this difference and the corresponding difference in viewpoint blending should be interpreted as language-specific conventions. Such a structural difference may be in line with Verhagen (2012), who identifies fundamental differences between Dutch Free Indirect Discourse and English Free Indirect Discourse and argues that, by consequence, the nature of this representation mode differs between the two languages. Verhagen (2012) further argues that there is no *a priori*, language-independent concept of Free Indirect Discourse which is realized differently across languages; rather, this representation mode is dependent on the linguistic tools used by narrators to create mixed viewpoints (see also Lu & Verhagen, 2016). Accordingly, if we want to understand cross-linguistic conventions to blend viewpoints in (news) narratives, we need to start our analyses from the ground up by identifying the linguistic strategies that prompt the process of viewpoint blending rather than identifying the resulting blended viewpoint space. The present study provides a sound framework to perform such analyses in a larger corpus (Van Krieken & Sanders, 2016a).

A final direction for future research lies in the domain of the audience's reception of the strategies journalists use to describe news events from the viewpoints of eyewitnesses. Of particular interest are the strategies used to blend viewpoints, since these strategies unequivocally violate journalistic genre conventions: Free Indirect Discourse implies that the journalist has access to the minds of others, while present tense narration of cognition and perception fictively situates past experiences in the present. At the same time, viewpoint blending should facilitate a mediated witness experience as blending provides *direct* access to another person's consciousness (e.g., Oatley, 1999; Dancygier, 2012a). Important questions are whether the violations caused by viewpoint blending are noted as such by the audience and how blending affects readers' engagement with news narratives. Sanders and Redeker (1993) found that readers appreciate

the suspense evoked by viewpoint blending techniques, but consider their use in hard news texts as less appropriate. Future experimental research should determine whether these findings still hold two decades later, in a time when the publication of newspaper narratives is on the rise (Hartsock, 2007; Singer, 2010).

Appendix 4A Original Excerpts in Dutch

Excerpt 4.5

Tristan van der V. parkeert zaterdagmiddag rond twaalf uur zijn zwarte Mercedes op het Carmenplein bij winkelcentrum de Ridderhof. Hij heeft drie wapens bij zich. Hij stapt uit en schiet iemand neer. Dan gaat hij een stenen zijtrap op en door een deur het winkelcentrum in. In zijn auto, die later door de Explosieven Opruimingsdienst wordt onderzocht, ligt een briefje. Daarop staat dat er explosieven liggen in drie andere winkelcentra in Alphen aan den Rijn.

Het is druk in het overdekte winkelcentrum. Rustig loopt Van der V. langs het Kruidvat, de Zeeman, de Hubo. Schietend. Glas vliegt in het rond. Mensen vallen neer, rennen weg, duiken weg. Hij loopt door.

Een oudere man vlucht voor hem uit en duikt de Hubo in. Hij was net nog met zijn kleindochter, maar die is hij kwijt. Al snel staat hij weer op. Hij ziet een man en een vrouw op de grond liggen, badend in het bloed. Hij ziet angst, paniek.

Excerpt 4.6

In het magazijn van de C1000, op de tweede verdieping, is Lennart Schellinghout aan het werk. Hij hoort knallen.

Excerpt 4.9

De schutter komt aan bij de Albert Heijn, waar Ramon Vleerlaag boodschappen doet. Hij hoort iets wat ,,lijkt op een klapperpistool". Medewerkers dirigeren de klanten naar achter in de winkel. Ongeveer twee minuten hoort Vleerlaag schoten, met onregelmatige tussenpozen.

Dan ziet hij de dader. ,,Hij liep voor de winkel langs, bij de kassa's. Hij keek de winkel in, precies het gangpad aan het eind waarvan ik

stond. Toen knielde hij, zette het wapen tegen de zijkant van zijn hoofd en schoot. Hij viel meteen om."

Excerpt 4.10

Er worden geen explosieven gevonden. In de loop van de nacht kan iedereen weer naar huis.
Winkelcentrum de Ridderhof werd afgelopen nacht schoongemaakt. De deuren bleven vandaag gesloten.

Chapter 5

Diachronic Changes in Forms and Functions of Reported Discourse in News Narratives

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5 Diachronic Changes in Forms and Functions of Reported Discourse in News Narratives

Abstract

This study examines historical developments in the forms and functions of reported discourse in news narratives. In this genre, reported discourse can serve at least two main pragmatic functions: (1) a dramatizing function by reconstructing what news sources were saying or thinking *during* the newsworthy events (narrative-internal discourse) or (2) an additional legitimizing function by revealing that the narrative reconstruction is based on statements made by these sources *after* the events took place (narrative-external discourse). We applied a cognitive linguistic model to a corpus of 300 Dutch news narratives published between 1860 and 2009. Results showed an increase in direct reported discourse at the expense of indirect reported discourse. Furthermore, a steep increase in the percentage of narratives with narrative-external discourse was found, whereas the percentage of narratives with narrative-internal discourse remained stable over time. Moreover, the results revealed a striking shift in the functional use of reported discourse: until halfway of the twentieth century, reported discourse was predominantly used as a strategy to dramatize news narratives by reconstructing news sources' speech and thought, but then it developed an additional legitimizing function by anchoring the information exchange between journalist and news source in a Narrative-External Space.

5.1 Introduction

The representation of people's speech and thought in written discourse has attracted the attention of scholars in the fields of linguistics and narratology for many decades (e.g., Banfield, 1973, 1982; Clark & Gerrig, 1990; Semino & Short, 2004; Vandelanotte, 2004a). These scholars share an interest in the interplay between the form and function of such reported discourse. This interplay varies across genres (Waugh, 1995). The present study focuses on the form and function of reported discourse in news narratives, a journalistic subgenre which combines literary storytelling techniques with journalistic conventions. This genre sets a unique frame in the sense that news narratives, unlike traditional news articles and reports, serve a dual function of both informing and engaging readers (Shim, 2014). To fulfill these two functions, journalists nowadays make strategic use of grammatical and referential devices to describe news events from the perspective of news sources without crossing the boundary of nonfiction (Van Krieken, Sanders, et al., 2015).

The present study examines the use of reported discourse as an alternative linguistic resource to both engage and inform readers. Specifically, reported discourse can contribute to the engaging function of news narratives by reconstructing the news events from the viewpoints of people involved in the events and to the informative function by demonstrating the factual status of the narrative reconstruction of reality (Van Krieken et al., 2016). The aim of this study is to systematically examine historical developments in the various forms and functions of reported discourse in news narratives. This aim is informed by previous research indicating that reported discourse plays an important role in understanding pragmatic developments in journalistic discourse. In a diachronic corpus study of Dutch news articles, Vis, Sanders, and Spooren (2012) found an increase in linguistic expressions of subjectivity. At the same time, this subjectivity shifted from the journalist's text to direct quotations attributed to news sources, which also increased over time. This

means that the language of newspapers became more subjective, but it mainly became so through changes in reported discourse.

It thus appears that historical changes in the use and form of reported discourse can be responsible for changes in the overall pragmatics of journalistic discourse. This raises the question as to whether and how the pragmatic function of discourse reports in itself has developed over time, in particular in the subgenre of news narratives where these reports may serve various functions. The present study therefore sets out to examine diachronic changes in the forms and functions of reported discourse in news narratives. To that end, a corpus of 300 murder narratives is analyzed, all of which were published in Dutch newspapers between 1860 and 2009. The next section discusses the forms and functions of reported discourse in news narratives in more detail.

5.1.1 Forms and Functions of Reported Discourse in News Narratives

Two aspects are central to the pragmatic function of discourse reports in news narratives. The first aspect is the mode of the report, and the second is the spatiotemporal anchoring of the report. Both aspects are discussed below.

5.1.1.1 Modes of Reported Discourse

The default representation mode in news articles is simple narration, in which information is presented from the "neutral" viewpoint of the journalist. Information can also be presented from the embedded, subjective viewpoint of a news source by means of a speech or thought report in the direct (Semino & Short, 2004), indirect (Semino & Short, 2004), distancing indirect (Vandelanotte, 2004a, 2004b), or

free indirect (Semino & Short, 2004; Banfield, 1982) mode. Finally, information can be presented from the embedded perspective of a news source by means of an implicit viewpoint, in which case reference is made to a person's consciousness (perception, cognition, emotion, opinion) without quoting any speech or thought (Sanders & Redeker, 1996). Table 5.1 provides examples of the different viewpoint categories.

Table 5.1: Viewpoint Categories

	Viewpoint category	Example
Reported discourse / News source's viewpoint	Narration	A man was hiding in the bushes.
	Direct speech/thought	"I saw a man hiding in the bushes," Mary said.
	Indirect speech/thought	Mary said that she saw a man hiding in the bushes.
	Distancing indirect speech/thought	She saw a man hiding in the bushes, Mary said.
	Free indirect speech/thought	Well yes, she now definitely saw a man hiding in the bushes!
	Implicit viewpoint	Mary saw a man hiding in the bushes.

The different viewpoint categories differ in their dramatizing potential. Direct speech and thought is generally considered to be more lively and dramatizing than reported discourse in the indirect mode (e.g., Sternberg, 1982; Vandelanotte, 2004a), since direct discourse *demonstrates* what was said or thought, whereas indirect discourse *describes* or *paraphrases* what was said or thought (Clark & Gerrig, 1990). Thus, in direct discourse, the journalist yields the floor to the news source and their voices are completely separated. In indirect discourse, the journalist offers two voices, that of the

journalist and that of the news source, but the journalist "does not take responsibility for the latter's embedded voice" (Capone, 2010: 378). Distancing indirect reports offer two voices as well, but the embedded voice of the news source is rendered in an "echoic" way (Vandelanotte, 2004b: 573). Finally, reported discourse in the free indirect mode signals a blending of voices such that the voices of journalist and news source are hardly discernible (Sanders, 2010).

All different reporting modes may be used in news narratives. Consider, for example, the following excerpt, which is part of a nineteenth-century Dutch newspaper narrative about the murder of an adulterous woman by her jealous husband. The narrative reaches its climax when the wife returns home late at night from a meeting with her paramour (see Appendix 5A for the original excerpts in Dutch).

Excerpt 5.1

(1) Last Sunday Mrs. Parasol told her husband that she wanted to see the Boeuf Gras, and that one of her friends, Mrs. C., had made her window available to her. Mr. P. approved this visit of his wife; but Mrs. P. was still not home by dinner time. Her husband immediately phoned Mrs. C., but she did not know anything about it.

(2) Eleven o'clock in the evening, in came madam.
(3) "Where have you been?" mister P. asked.
(4) "That is none of your business" madam replied with a sneer.

Mr. Parasol immediately pulled out a revolver and fired two shots. Mrs. P. was hit in the right lung by the first bullet, and in the head by the second. Fatally wounded, she collapsed.

(Nieuwsblad van het Noorden 1896, February 23)

Excerpt 5.1 opens with a speech report of the wife in the indirect mode (1) which paraphrases a request to her husband.[11] The viewpoint then shifts to the husband, who is waiting for his wife to come home and is trying to locate her. In (2), his viewpoint blends with the journalist's viewpoint in a case of free indirect thought ("in came madam"); the inner voice of the husband is intertwined with the journalist's voice of narration. This is followed by a dialogue between husband and wife in the direct mode (3-4). The liveliness of the direct speech adds to the tension of the scene and functions as a means to engage the reader (Craig, 2006). Note, for instance, how the use of the present tense within quotation (4) causes the time of the utterance to be "fictively current" (Davidse & Vandelanotte, 2011: 248), as if all is happening in front of the reader's eyes.

The discourse reports in excerpt 5.1 are all reconstructions of what the news actors were saying and thinking *during* the news events. Such reconstructions provide a compelling account of what happened. At the same time, they are problematic for the news genre precisely because they are reconstructions rather than verifiable facts (Frank, 1999). In this example, it remains unclear on what basis the narrative reconstruction was made. As will be explained below, the strategic anchoring of discourse reports in time and place can function as a means to legitimize such reconstructions.

[11] Paraphrases in indirect discourse can become more indirect by replacing NPs with NPs which cannot be easily recognized by readers. For instance, in this fragment, the Boeuf Gras is a short name for a traditional costume ceremony at Carnaval time taking place at the Promenade du Boeuf Gras in Paris. This feast may have been represented in other terms by Madame Parasol in her actual utterance. One may wonder whether the indication Boeuf Gras" is enough for Dutch readers at the time to interpret this paraphrase. Note that replacement of NPs could also transmit (deliberate) misinformation. The authors thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out.

5.1.1.2 Spatiotemporal Anchoring of Discourse Reports

Crucially, the pragmatic function of a discourse report is in news narratives also determined by the spatiotemporal anchoring of the report. Discourse reports refer either to what was said during the main news event or to what was said afterwards (Van Krieken et al., 2016). Consider the following excerpt, which is part of a contemporary Dutch newspaper narrative published at the time of the trial of a couple who had murdered the woman's father.

> Excerpt 5.2
>
> When Lieke was in the bedroom with dad, he [*her partner*] appeared with a hood he had torn off a rain coat and stood behind father Jan. He interpreted the look Lieke gave him as permission: (1) "Do it!" And she also yelled: (2) "I'll stay with you forever!"
>
> He put the hood over Jan's face and pulled it backward. (3) "Hold it tightly," Lieke said. Yesterday she confirmed: (4) "Then dad was gone pretty fast."
>
> (De Telegraaf 2008, July 24)

In excerpt 5.2, the first three quotations demonstrate what the woman said at the time of the news event. Like the discourse reports in excerpt 5.1, these quotations serve to dramatize the narrative and thus to engage the reader.

By contrast, the last quotation (4) does not demonstrate what the woman said during the events, but how she evaluates the events afterwards, during the trial at which the journalist presumably was present and heard her speak. This quotation is, in other words, anchored in a setting external to the narrative setting. This is indicated, first, by the temporal adverb "yesterday" which should be

interpreted with respect to the date of the newspaper's publication rather than the date of the murder, and, second, by the use of past tense speech. Although this quotation does add to the drama of the narrative – characterizing the speaker by quoting her informal language use – it also serves a different, additional function: it establishes the crucial link between reality and the narrative reconstruction of that reality. As such, this quotation informs the reader about the factuality of the narrative.

The spatiotemporal anchoring of discourse reports can be clarified by conceptualizing discourse reports as *embedded mental spaces* (Sanders & Redeker, 1996). In cognitive linguistics, the notion of mental spaces refers to the conceptual domains that are set up and linked by linguistic elements with the effect "to create a network of spaces through which we move as discourse unfolds" (Sweetser & Fauconnier, 1996: 11). In the case of narrative discourse, each mental space has its unique (if fictional) coordinates in terms of time and space (Dancygier, 2012a). Figure 5.1 represents the network of spaces in news narratives (Van Krieken et al., 2016).[12]

As in any other discourse, a Basic Space can be assumed in news narratives that functions as the starting point of narration. The Basic Space equals the viewpoint of the journalist. From the Basic Space, a Narrative Space is construed that represents all narrative events, usually structured in multiple episodes which capture the consecutive units of time, place, and action. Within these episodes, embedded mental spaces can (but do not necessarily have to) be opened up that represent the viewpoints of news sources; they are accessed by linguistic elements, such as cognitive verbs or modal expressions (Sanders, 2010).

Discourse reports also provide access to the mental spaces of news sources. These reports are anchored in a space that is located either inside the seminal Narrative Space (i.e., in a Narrative-Internal

[12] The basic elements of the model were adapted from Dancygier (2012a) by Van Krieken et al. (2016).

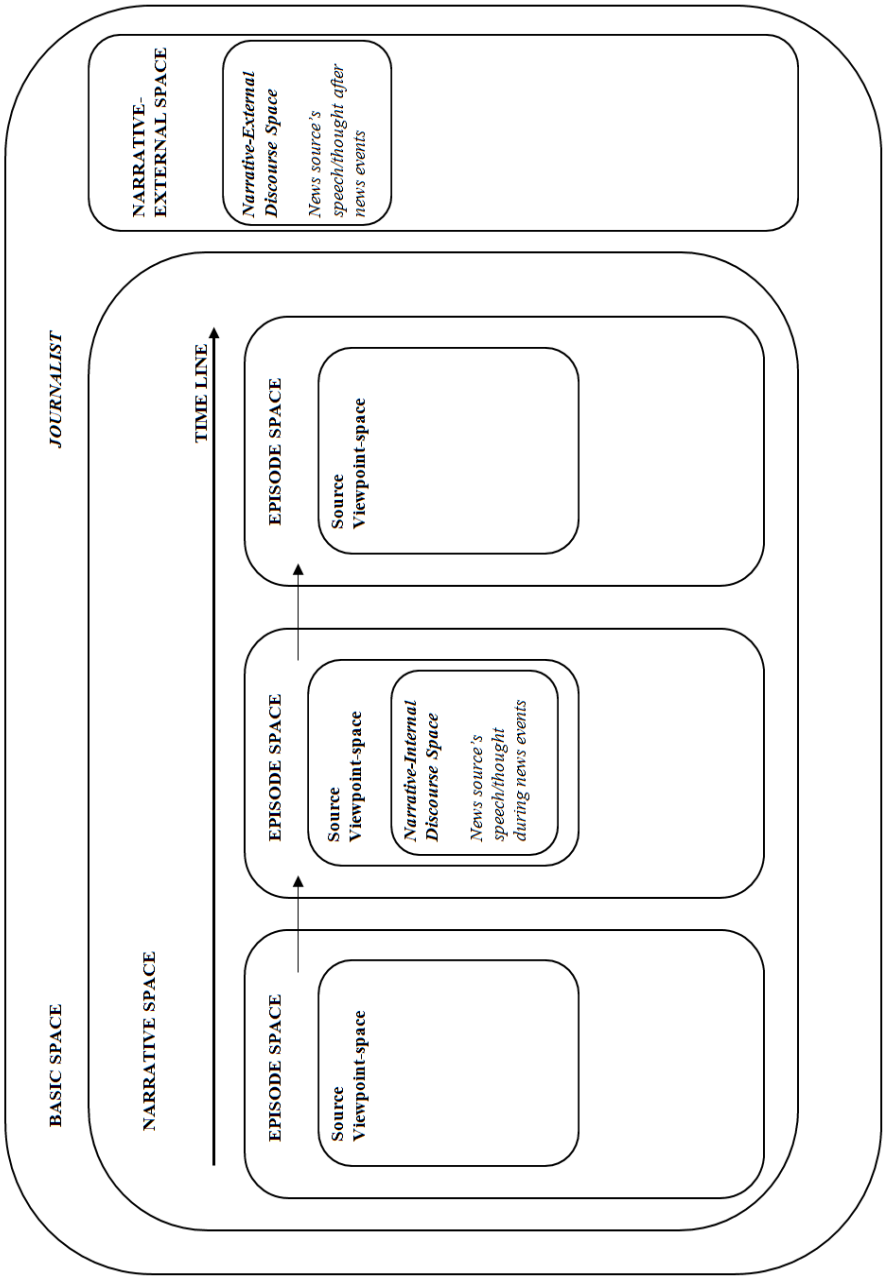

Figure 5.1: Cognitive Linguistic Model of Narrative News Discourse

Space) or in an external space located outside this narrative (i.e., in a Narrative-External Space). Narrative-internal discourse reports dramatize the narrative by revealing what the people involved were saying or thinking while the newsworthy events took place. Note that in Narrative-External Spaces, the settings are represented in which news sources afterwards explain what happened. As such, they function as the *ground*, i.e. a communicative setting in which both speaker (here: news source) and hearer (here: journalist) are present (Langacker, 1987a: 126).

In news reconstructions, a Narrative-External Space must always be assumed in order to account for the factual status of these reconstructions (Van Krieken et al., 2016). The degree to which this space is profiled[13] may vary across narratives. The Narrative-External Space may remain implicit, as in excerpt 5.1, or it may be explicitly profiled by the use of narrative-external discourse reports, as in excerpt 5.2. In the latter case, a news source's voice sounds from the Narrative-External Space; in such cases, the journalist forces the reader to mentally represent that space. Narrative-external discourse reports thus serve a legitimizing function as they demonstrate to the reader that the narrative reconstruction is based on information provided to the journalist by the news actors.

The Narrative-External Space can be profiled by discourse reports in various reporting modes, but this profiling is strongest in the case of direct discourse reports since the direct mode confirms, by demonstration, the presence of both journalist and source in the communicative setting (Vis et al., 2015; Clark & Gerrig, 1990). Consider the following excerpt.

[13] In cognitive linguistics, the term "profile" generally refers to how and which aspects of a process, relation or entity are designated and emphasized differently by alternative linguistic expressions (Langacker, 1987a, 1987b). In the present article we use the term exclusively to denote the process that occurs when a discourse report unveils (or further highlights) the otherwise latent Narrative-External Space.

Excerpt 5.3

> In the night of 19 to 20 May, 1991, J. visited a nightclub in Sevenum. There he became irritated by the behavior of K. from Lottum. J. decided to cool off for a bit in his car at the industrial park and somewhat later went to his sister's house where he took a piece of hand rail from the garden. He intended to teach the (subsequent) victim a proper lesson. […] (1) "I regret it," J. said yesterday, (2) emphasizing that he had merely visited K. to resolve the issue.
>
> (Limburgsch Dagblad 1992, April 17)

In excerpt 5.3, the direct discourse report (1) marks a transfer from the Narrative Space to a Narrative-External Space, a court hearing, which becomes explicitly profiled through the demonstrative direct mode. The indirect discourse report (2) is anchored in the Narrative-External Space as well but merely paraphrases the suspect's subsequent statement. Although the direct discourse report profiles the Narrative-External Space more explicitly than the indirect discourse report, both reports add to the legitimization of the narrative reconstruction because both are anchored in this external space.

Narrative-external discourse reports are, in the direct mode, typically signaled by the use of past tense speech (e.g., utterance (4) in excerpt 5.2). The past tense serves as an indication that the speaker is explaining or reflecting on the news events from a later point in time. Other linguistic signals of such discourse reports include temporal and locative expressions in the reporting clause which refer to the ground instead of the narrative setting (e.g., "Yesterday" in excerpts 5.2 and 5.3), in particular when combined with verbs of attribution like "recall", "confirm" or "admit" (Van Krieken et al., 2016).

To summarize, the spatiotemporal anchoring of discourse reports in news narratives is a crucial factor in the pragmatic function of these reports. Whereas narrative-internal discourse reports serve to

dramatize and enliven the narrative, narrative-external discourse reports serve an additional function of legitimization. Discourse reports of the latter kind are, according to Frank (1999), more often than not omitted because they supposedly interrupt the flow of the news narrative. Empirical research testing this contention appears to be lacking, however. The present study therefore sets out to provide a deeper insight in the actual use and pragmatic functions of discourse reports in news narratives.

We are specifically interested in how the use and functions of reported discourse have developed over time. The news narrative published in 1896 (excerpt 5.1), for instance, solely shows narrative-internal discourse reports, whereas the more recent news narratives published in 2008 (excerpt 5.2) and 1992 (excerpt 5.3) show both narrative-internal and narrative-external discourse reports. This not only implies that narratives can differ from one another in the specific types of discourse reports used, but might also be an indication of diachronic changes in the functional use of reported discourse. Such changes can be assumed on the basis of a previous study which revealed an increase in direct discourse reports in Dutch news articles as well as an increase in linguistic markers of subjectivity (Vis et al., 2012). These developments appeared to be interrelated such that subjectivity became increasingly expressed in news sources' reported discourse rather than in the journalist's text. This finding shows that overall changes in journalistic discourse can be explained by changes in the use of discourse reports and, as such, might point towards historical developments in the pragmatic functions fulfilled by these reports. The present study aims to examine these developments in a large corpus and by differentiating between narrative-internal and narrative-external discourse reports. Specific expectations are formulated in the next section.

5.1.2 Historical Development of Reported Discourse

Although much research is devoted to describing historical changes in journalistic discourse (e.g., Chalaby, 1996; Wijfjes, 2007; Williams, 2007), quantitative research investigating these changes remains scarce. Previous studies have nevertheless provided some clues as to what the historical development of reported discourse might look like. First of all, in the early twentieth century, objectivity became a central norm in American journalism (Schudson, 2001; Stensaas, 1986). The practices and conventions associated with this norm were later taken over by European journalists (Broersma, 2007). Since objectivity is closely intertwined with factuality (e.g., Stenvall, 2008), the increasing importance of objective reporting might be reflected in an increase in the use of narrative-external discourse reports in news narratives as a way to confirm their factual status. Hence our first hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1: The percentage of news narratives with narrative-external discourse reports increases over time

Second, claims have been made about the "narrativization" of journalism over the past decades (Kramer, 2000; Hartsock, 2007; Shim, 2014). Since the New Journalism movement in the 1960s and 1970s, storytelling formats have been firmly anchored in American journalism (Frus, 1994). In the Netherlands, too, an increasing interest in narrative journalism has been noted which has manifested itself in various initiatives to promote the use of storytelling techniques among journalists (Groot Kormelink & Costera Meijer, 2015). The increasing focus on narrative reporting might be reflected in an overall increase in the use of narrative-internal discourse reports as a strategy to

dramatize news narratives. Our second hypothesis is therefore formulated as follows:

Hypothesis 2: The percentage of news narratives with narrative-internal discourse reports increases over time

The above hypotheses predict that the use of both narrative-external and narrative-internal discourse reports increases over time. However, a specific stretch of reported discourse is always anchored either in a Narrative-External Space or in a Narrative-Internal Space. News narratives can therefore not only vary in the types of discourse reports used, but also in the ratio between narrative-external and narrative-internal discourse reports. This raises relevant questions about the interplay between the use and functions of reported discourse. Do news sources' discourse reports mainly refer to what they said during the events or, conversely, to what they said afterwards? And are there any diachronic changes in the dominance of narrative-external versus narrative-internal discourse reports? As the present study seeks answers to these questions, the following research question was formulated:

Research Question: How did the use of narrative-external and narrative-internal discourse reports in news narratives develop relative to one another?

To test the hypotheses and answer the research question, our cognitive linguistic model of narrative news discourse will be applied to a corpus of news narratives.

5.2 Method

5.2.1 Corpus Construction

A corpus of Dutch journalistic crime narratives published between 1860 and 2009 was assembled. Criminal events constitute a stable news theme in journalism since they are by nature newsworthy for their negative impact on society (Katz, 1987). Such events are also among the most likely topics to take on a narrative form in newspaper coverage (Johnston & Graham, 2012), which makes them a well suited topic for the purposes of the present study. In order to achieve homogeneity across the content of the corpus articles, only narratives about murder cases were included.

The on-line databases *Delpher* (www.delpher.nl; for the period 1860-1989) and *LexisNexis* (academic.lexisnexis.nl; for the period 1990-2009) were searched using the terms *moord* ("murder") and *vermoord* ("murdered"). This search was done for each decade independently. A fixed set of newspapers was included in the search to establish as much continuity across the decades as possible.[14] However, none of the newspapers appeared during and/or was digitalized for the entire period. This means that for some of the decades, different newspapers had to be added to the search. Care was taken to ensure that for each pair of consecutive decades, at least two of the newspapers included were the same.

[14] (1) De Tijd: godsdienstig-staatkundig dagblad: 1860-1899, 1910-1919, 1930-1959; (2) Leeuwarder Courant: 1860-1889, 1900-1949, 1990-2009; (3) Algemeen Handelsblad: 1860-1919, 1930-1949; (4) Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant: 1860-1869; (5) Het nieuws van den dag: Kleine courant: 1870-1909; (6) De Grondwet: 1870-1879; (7) Nieuwsblad van het Noorden: 1880-1929, 1950-1999; (8) De Telegraaf: 1890-2009; (9) Nieuwsblad van Friesland: 1900-1929, 1940-1949; (10) Limburgsch Dagblad: 1920-1929, 1940-1999; (11) Het vrije volk: Democratisch-socialistisch dagblad: 1940-1959, 1970-1989; (12) Friese Koerier: 1950-1969; (13) Gereformeerd gezinsblad: 1960-1969; (14) De Tijd: Dagblad voor Nederland: 1970-1979; (15) Nederlands Dagblad: 1970-1989; (16) NRC Handelsblad: 1990-2009; (17) De Volkskrant: 1990-2009.

As it was highly unlikely that all newspaper articles that were retrieved this way would be narratives, a purposive sampling technique (Neuendorf, 2002: 88) was applied to ensure that only articles relevant to the purposes of this study would be included in the corpus. This means that for each consecutive article that was retrieved, a decision was made whether it was a murder narrative or not. An article was classified as a murder narrative if it (1) described either a case of murder (attempt) or the discovery of a corpse and (2) provided chronological details about the course of events which the journalist could not have witnessed in person, implying some sort of narrative reconstruction of the murder and/or the corpse discovery. By including articles that meet both criteria, we were able to reveal whether and how journalists use discourse reports to dramatize news events and/or to legitimize their narrative reconstructions of reality. For each decade, the first 20 articles meeting the selection criteria were added to the corpus. Any duplicate narratives were excluded.

5.2.2 Corpus Descriptives

The corpus consisted of 300 narratives published in 17 different Dutch newspapers; including local as well as national newspapers, broadsheet as well as tabloid newspapers, and newspapers with a "right-wing or conservative" political orientation as well as newspapers with a "left-wing or progressive" political orientation. Each decade contained narratives from four to seven different newspapers. The majority of the narratives covered murder cases that had occurred in the Netherlands (74.33%), the remaining (25.67%) had occurred in foreign countries. The length of the corpus narratives varied between 94 and 2,733 words, with a mean length of 488 words.

5.2.3 Analysis

The narratives were divided into sentences, after which each sentence (n = 9,699) was analyzed on a number of variables. The analytical procedure is visualized in Figure 5.2.

First, it was determined whether the sentence was part of a headline, subheading, or other editorial information. If this was the case, the sentence was coded as "Editorial" and the analysis was terminated. If this was not the case, the analysis was continued.

Then, the type of viewpoint (embedding) was determined. The categories of viewpoint type were based on the categories described by Semino and Short (2004), Banfield (1982), Sanders and Redeker (1993, 1996), Sanders (2010), and Vandelanotte (2004a, 2004b). The six main categories were (cf. Table 5.1)[15]: (1) narration (no viewpoint embedded); reported discourse in the (2) direct, (3) indirect, (4) distancing indirect, or (5) free indirect mode; and (6) implicit viewpoint.

A sentence was coded as (1) narration if it represented information from the viewpoint of the journalist and did not embed the viewpoint of a news source (Sanders, 2010; Semino & Short, 2004). A sentence was coded as reported discourse in the (2) direct mode if it embedded the viewpoint of a news source by means of a speech or thought report in its original form (Semino & Short, 2004).

[15] Following Semino and Short (2004), several subcategories were distinguished to account for the wide variety of reported discourse modes. These subcategories were included in the calculation of the intercoder reliabilities. The main analyses were performed over the higher-order main categories. For instance, "Narration with a Narrative Report of a Speech Act" was distinguished as a subcategory of "Narration" to account for sentences in which reference is made to a speech act without further elaboration of what was said (e.g., *He spoke for hours*). For such sentences, the code "Narration with a Narrative Report of a Speech Act" was used to calculate the intercoder reliability. This was done to avoid the risk of inflated reliability scores. The main analyses included only the higher-order categories ("Narration" in the case of the example).

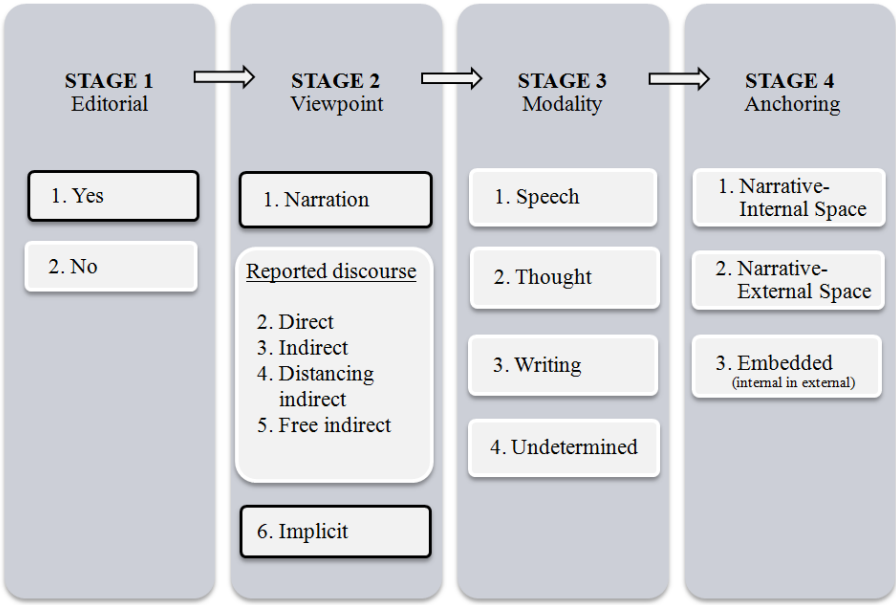

Figure 5.2: **Analytical Procedure (black lines indicate termination of the analysis at that stage)**

If a sentence embedded the viewpoint of a news source by means of a speech or thought report in a subordinated conjunction, it was coded as reported discourse in the (3) indirect mode (Semino & Short, 2004). If a sentence embedded the viewpoint of a news source by means of a speech or thought report in a non-literal way but with the word order of an independent clause, typically with the reporting clause appearing in mid-sentence or sentence-final position, it was coded as reported discourse in the (4) distancing indirect mode (Vandelanotte, 2004a, 2004b). A sentence was coded as reported discourse in the (5) free indirect mode if it embedded the viewpoint of a news source by means of a speech or thought report in which direct discourse was combined with narratorial commentary, typically with person and tense anchored to the viewpoint of the journalist and temporal and spatial adverbs anchored to the viewpoint of the news source (Semino & Short, 2004;

Banfield, 1982). A sentence was coded as (6) an implicit viewpoint if it referred to a news source's consciousness without quoting any speech or thought, typically by means of a verb of cognition, perception, or epistemic modality, an opinion indicator, or a (metaphoric) phrase expressing an emotional or cognitive state (Sanders & Redeker, 1993, 1996; Sanders, 2010). Finally, if a sentence represented multiple viewpoints, it was coded as such.

If a sentence was categorized as reporting a news source's speech or thought, the modality of the reported discourse was determined. The four categories were: (1) speech, (2) thought, (3) writing, and (4) undetermined. If a sentence reported discourse in multiple modalities, it was coded as such.

Finally, the anchoring of the discourse report was determined. A sentence was coded as anchored in (1) a Narrative-Internal Space if it reported an utterance which took place during the news events, typically signaled by the use of present tense within the speech or thought report. A sentence was coded as anchored in (2) a Narrative-External Space if it reported an utterance which took place after the news events, typically signaled by the use of past tense speech and temporal or locative expressions in the contextual reporting clause which refer to the ground (e.g., trial, interview, press conference). A third category, (3) narrative-internal discourse embedded in a Narrative-External Space, was distinguished to account for sentences reporting what was said or thought during the events (narrative-internal discourse) which are embedded in a discourse report anchored in a Narrative-External Space, e.g.: *"(1) In the car he said: (2) "I have to post a letter. (3) Ride with me, then we can chat for a bit," (4) John told yesterday*. Here, sentences (2) and (3) report what was said during the events (internal discourse), but these are embedded in an utterance (1) which took place after the events (external discourse), as clearly indicated by the temporal adverb in (4).

5.2.4 Procedure and Intercoder Reliability

Two coders received extensive training in the analysis of viewpoint representation in news narratives. After each training session, the coders discussed their encodings, after which any necessary changes and additions to the code book were made. This procedure was repeated until the categories proved exhaustive and mutually exclusive and no further changes or additions had to be made.

The first coder coded the entire corpus. The second coder coded thirty narratives (10% of the corpus), which were randomly selected using Microsoft Excel's random number generator function. Intercoder reliabilities were calculated over these thirty narratives (N = 831 sentences). The reliability scores ranged from good (Cohen's κ = .74 for the variable Type of Viewpoint; Cohen's κ = .70 for the variable Discourse Anchoring) to excellent (Cohen's κ = .95 for the variable Editorial; Cohen's κ = .90 for the variable Modality) (qualifications by Fleiss, 1981; as cited in Bakeman & Gottman, 1986: 82).

5.3 Results

Sentences coded as editorial information (N = 914, less than 10%) were excluded from the analyses. The analyses were performed over the remaining sentences (N = 8,785). We first present an overview of general findings with respect to (developments in) the use and forms of reported discourse. We then move on to the historical developments in the pragmatic functions of reported discourse in news narratives.

5.3.1 General Findings

The vast majority of the narratives (80.7%) showed reported discourse. The minority (18.7%) of these narratives exclusively showed narrative-external reported discourse. Over a third of the narratives (38.3%) exclusively showed narrative-internal reported discourse.[16] The remaining narratives (43.0%) showed both narrative-external and narrative-internal discourse.

Overall, 38.1% of the sentences embedded the viewpoint of one or more persons involved in the news event by means of reported discourse or an implicit viewpoint. Reported discourse (51.6%) was more frequent than implicit viewpoint (46.5%). In a small number of sentences (1.9%), multiple viewpoint embedding strategies were used. Table 5.2 provides an overview of type and modality of the represented discourse sentences.[17] This table shows that in most instances, the modality of the reported discourse was speech. Thought reports occurred much less frequently and written discourse reports were rare.

Table 5.2 furthermore shows that direct and indirect discourse reports were more frequent strategies to embed news sources' viewpoints than free indirect and distancing indirect discourse reports. Over time, the percentage of sentences with reported discourse in the direct mode increased significantly (r = .61, p = .016), whereas the percentage of sentences with reported discourse in the indirect mode decreased significantly over time (r = -.62, p = .014). The percentages of sentences with free indirect and distancing indirect discourse

[16] A very small percentage (3.8%) of the sentences showed narrative-internal discourse which was anchored in a Narrative-External Space. Since these sentences in effect report narrative-internal discourse, they were in the analyses taken together with sentences coded as reporting discourse anchored in a Narrative-Internal Space. This did not affect the results.

[17] A small percentage of the sentences reported discourse in multiple modalities, and in an equally small number of instances the modality was undetermined (both 0.3%). These sentences are not included in the percentages as reported in Table 5.2.

remained stable over time (r = .25, p = .368 and r = .38, p = .167, respectively).

Table 5.2: Type and Modality of Reported Discourse (N = 1724 sentences)

	Speech	Thought	Writing	Total
Direct mode	96.8%	0.9%	2.4%	100% (61.2%)
Indirect mode	84.1%	14.2%	1.8%	100% (32.4%)
Free indirect mode	79.6%	20.4%	0.0%	100% (3.1%)
Distancing indirect mode	87.7%	10.5%	1.8%	100% (3.3%)
Total	91.8%	6.1%	2.1%	100%

It thus appears that the amount of reported discourse in the direct mode increased at the expense of reported discourse in the indirect mode. To examine this development in more detail, a binary logistic regression analysis was performed to analyze changes in the ratio between direct discourse and indirect discourse (χ^2 (1) = 115.44, p < .001; R^2 = .07 (Cox & Snell)). Figure 5.3 displays the percentage of sentences with reported discourse in the direct mode versus sentences with reported discourse in the indirect mode per decade.

Time was a significant predictor of type of reported discourse (B = .13, Wald χ^2(1) = 110.08, p < .001; Exp. B = 1.13). This means that the use of reported discourse in the direct mode (versus the indirect mode) increased significantly over time. Specifically, the odds for a given discourse report to be in the direct rather than the indirect mode increased with a factor of 1.13 per decade.

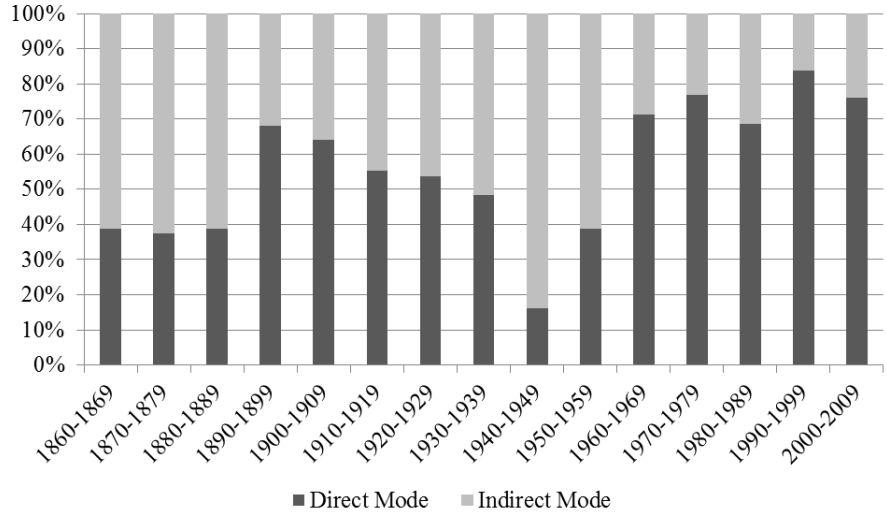

Figure 5.3: Percentage of Reported Discourse Sentences in the Direct versus the Indirect Mode (total *N* = 1619)

5.3.2 Diachronic Developments in the Functions of Reported Discourse

Figure 5.4 shows per decade the percentage of narratives that showed one or more narrative-internal discourse reports and the percentage of narratives that showed one or more narrative-external discourse reports.[18]

[18] The percentages do not add up to 100% since not all narratives showed reported discourse and the categories are not mutually exclusive: a narrative with narrative-internal discourse may also show narrative-external discourse and vice versa.

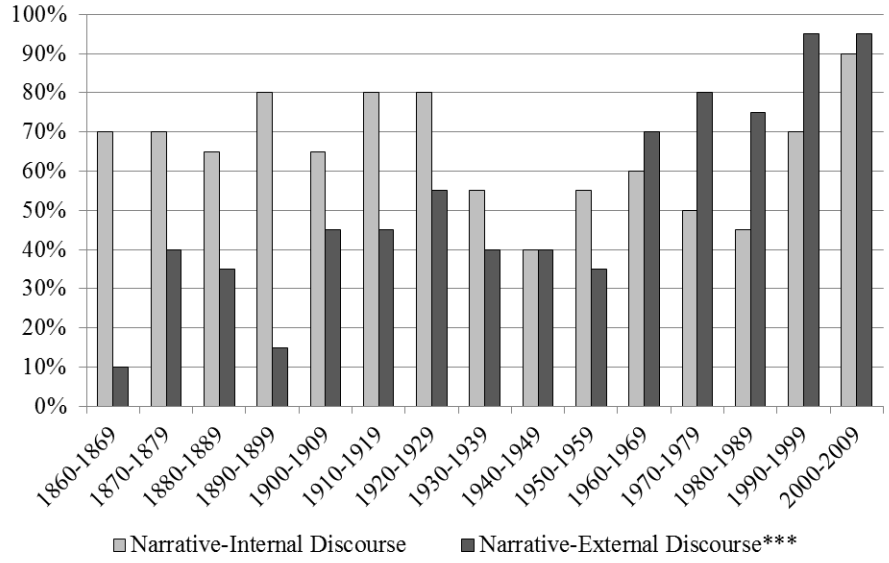

Figure 5.4: Percentage of Narratives with Narrative-Internal and Narrative- External Discourse Reports per Decade (total *N* = 300; * *p* < .001)**

In support of Hypothesis 1, a highly significant increase in narratives with narrative-external discourse reports was found ($r = .87$, $p < .001$). Between 1860 and 1869, only 10% of the narratives showed discourse reports that were anchored in the Narrative-External Space. This percentage had increased up to 95% between 1990 and 2009. In contrast with Hypothesis 2, no significant development in the percentage of narratives with narrative-internal discourse reports was found ($r = -.21$, $p = .459$).

Our research question was concerned with the functions of reported discourse throughout the years. Figure 5.4 above shows that narrative-internal as well as narrative-external discourse reports have been used in all periods. However, a given discourse report is always anchored either in a Narrative-Internal Space or in a Narrative-External Space. Examining the ratio between narrative-external and narrative-internal discourse can reveal possible shifts in their relative

dominance. Figure 5.5 shows per decade the percentage of narrative-internal discourse sentences versus the percentage of narrative-external discourse sentences.

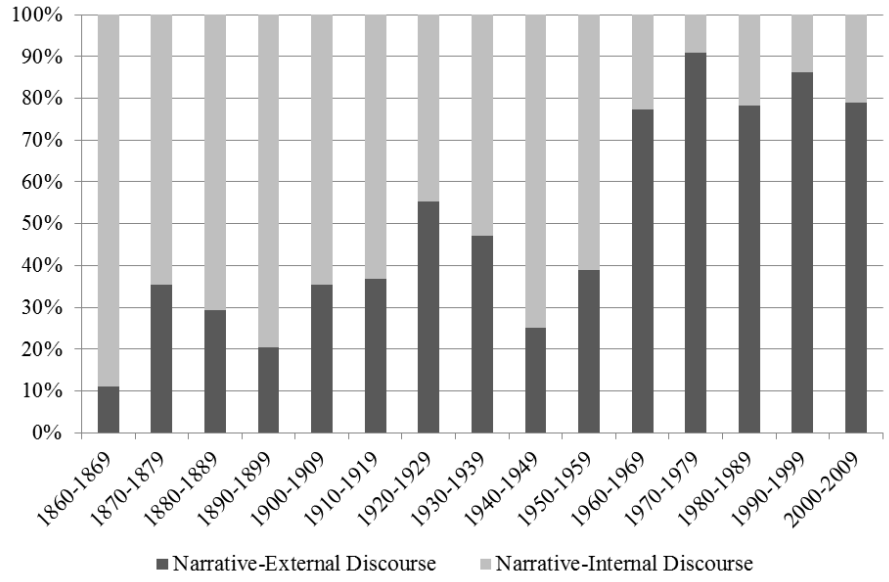

Figure 5.5: Percentage of Narrative-Internal versus Narrative-External Discourse Sentences per Decade (total *N* = 1729)

A binary logistic regression analysis was performed to examine whether time predicted in which type of discourse space a certain discourse report was anchored (χ^2 (1) = 348.13, $p < .001$; $R^2 = .18$ (Cox & Snell)). Time was a significant predictor of discourse anchoring (B = .22, Wald $\chi^2(1) = 293.56$, $p < .001$; Exp. B = 1.24). This means that the use of narrative-external (versus narrative-internal) discourse increased significantly over time.[19] Specifically,

[19] Additional analyses revealed that the increase in narrative-external (versus narrative-internal) discourse reports applied to discourse in the direct mode (χ^2 (1) = 237.88, $p < .001$; $R^2 = .20$ (Cox & Snell)) as well as discourse in the indirect mode

the odds that a given discourse report was anchored in a Narrative-External Space (instead of a Narrative-Internal Space) increased with a factor of 1.24 per decade. As can be seen in Figure 5.5, this increase has resulted in a shift in the functional use of reported discourse. Until halfway of the twentieth century, reported discourse was predominantly anchored in Narrative-Internal Spaces. From the 1960s onwards, by contrast, reported discourse was predominantly anchored in Narrative-External Spaces.

5.4 Conclusion and Discussion

The results of the present study can be summarized in two main conclusions. The first conclusion is that the journalistic demand of legitimization has become more important in the genre of news narratives over the past 150 years. This is reflected in a vast increase in narratives with discourse reports that are anchored in a Narrative-External Space, which establishes a crucial connection between the news events as they took place in reality and the narrative reconstruction of those events as they appear in newspapers (Van Krieken et al., 2016). In the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, the minority of the news narratives showed narrative-external discourse reports, which means that the Narrative-External Space most often remained implicit. From the 1960s onward, the Narrative-External Space became more profiled in news narratives. Journalists increasingly reported news sources' discourse

(χ^2 (1) = 52.34, p < .001; R^2 = .09 (Cox & Snell)). The odds that a given discourse report in the direct mode was anchored in a Narrative-External Space (instead of a Narrative-Internal Space) increased with a factor of 1.29 per decade (B = .77, Wald χ^2 (1) = 198.03, p < .001; Exp. B = 1.29). The odds that a given discourse report in the indirect mode was anchored in a Narrative-External Space (instead of a Narrative-Internal Space) increased with a factor of 1.15 per decade (B = .14, Wald χ^2 (1) = 48.12, p < .001; Exp. B. = 1.15). Analyses of the ratio between external and internal discourse in the distancing indirect and free indirect mode could not be performed due to low frequencies.

as a means to demonstrate the truthfulness of their narratives. This finding seems to contradict Frank's (1999) assertion that journalists avoid quotations of this kind out of fear to interrupt the flow of the narrative. It appears that journalists have come to value the ethics of news narratives as much as the aesthetics, and that they have developed sophisticated means to intertwine narrative and reconstructive information.

The conclusion that legitimization has become increasingly important is substantiated by the second main conclusion, namely that the dominant function of reported discourse in news narratives has shifted over time. Over the last 150 years, reported discourse has always contributed to both the engaging and the informative function of news narratives. Yet, until halfway of the twentieth century, the dominant function of reported discourse was to dramatize these narratives. In this period, reported discourse most often referred to what news sources were saying and thinking while the newsworthy events took place. This is considered a powerful resource to capture the interest of readers and draw them close to the news events and the people involved (Craig, 2006). In the second half of the twentieth century, however, much of news sources' reported discourse transferred from Narrative-Internal Spaces to Narrative-External Spaces, indicating that reported discourse developed a legitimizing function which complemented and ultimately came to dominate over the merely dramatizing function. In this period, reported discourse most often referred to what news sources have said after the newsworthy events took place. As these speech reports are often recollections of what happened or reflections thereon, they can convince readers of the veracity of the narrative and remind them that the narrative informs them about events which have occurred in the real world and in which real people were involved. Notably, in doing so, they still contribute to the news narratives' liveliness by dramatizing recounts of public hearings, court trials, and news interviews, but they do so in a more legitimate, less "fictionalizing"

manner, by quoting news sources directly on their grounded experiences.

The present study does not provide support for the claim that journalistic discourse has "narrativized" over the past decades (Kramer, 2000; Hartsock, 2007; Shim, 2014), at least not within the genre of crime news narratives. The results showed no increase in the percentage of narratives with narrative-internal speech and thought reports. In combination with the finding that the relative amount of these dramatizing discourse reports decreased over time, this seems to indicate, in fact, a decreasing degree of narrativity. It is noteworthy, however, that the dramatizing potential of reported discourse has always been exploited by journalists. In all periods, forty percent or more of the narratives showed reconstructions of what the news actors were saying and thinking during the news events, indicating that this reconstructive technique is an important genre characteristic.

It is nevertheless possible that other journalistic genres have in fact increased in narrativity over the years, and speech and thought reconstructions are of course not the only narrative techniques available to journalists. Future studies could provide alternative tests of the narrativization hypothesis by examining historical developments in a wide range of alternative techniques, such as the reconstruction of time and place or the use of anecdotal leads, and in various genres.

The historical developments in the use and functions of reported discourse show how the genre of news narratives has evolved notably through time. In broader terms, they demonstrate that the function of reported discourse not only varies across genres (Waugh, 1995), but may also develop over time within a given genre. This has consequences for future research on historical, genre-specific developments in the use of discourse reports. For instance, Vis et al. (2012) found that the use of direct quotations in Dutch newspaper articles increased significantly in the second half of the twentieth century. The present study not only replicates this finding for the

specific genre of newspaper narratives, but also adds to a better understanding of this development.

It is typical for direct quotations to serve a double function of dramatization and demonstration (Clark & Gerrig, 1990). Thus, although the use of direct quotations in itself adds a subjective component to a journalistic article (Vis et al., 2012), it may simultaneously function as a means to increase its overall objectivity (see also Sigal, 1986). Specifically, news narratives have become more subjective in terms of an increase in the relative amount of news sources' direct speech, but these speech reports simultaneously have enlarged their objectivity as they increasingly served an additional function, i.e., to demonstrate the factual status of the news narratives. Such refined qualifications are only possible when the use and forms of discourse reports are examined in relation to the various functions they may fulfill.

In addition, the results showed that the increase in direct discourse came at the expense of a decrease in indirect discourse. This indicates a growing preference for replicating rather than paraphrasing news sources' discourse. Interestingly, from a Critical Discourse Analysis perspective, this development can be viewed as a trend towards a highly neutral reporting style in which the journalist's reluctance to paraphrase is interpreted as an overall avoidance of commitment or taking any stance (see Waugh, Catalano, Al Masaeed, Hong Do, & Renigar, 2015 for current trends in Critical Discourse Analysis). Noteworthy, however, is a steep decline in this trend seen in the 1940s of our data. The use of direct quotations even reached its nadir in this period while the use of indirect discourse hit its peak. This rupture might find an explanation in a change towards a more sober writing style during the (post) Second World War years or the many reforms of the Dutch journalistic landscape during the German invasion (see Wijfjes, 2004). Due to scarce amounts of time and resources, newspaper reporting was forced to become an ultra-economic affair. Journalists were possibly not in the position to interview sources and gather quotations for verbatim replication but

had to rely on indirect information instead. This explanation is supported by a sudden decline in narrative-external discourse reports in the period before, during and after the war, which might signal a lack of personal contact between journalists and news sources. An additional explanation could be found in a relative greater commitment of journalists towards their news sources in a time of (post) war unification of spirits in the Dutch society.

The present study furthermore replicates and extends Sanders's (2010) finding that in the genre of news narratives, the embedded viewpoints of news sources can also blend with the viewpoint of the journalist. Such blends are established by the use of implicit viewpoints and speech and thought reports in the free indirect mode (Sanders & Redeker, 1996). Both of these strategies were found in our corpus, although their relative occurrences differed considerably. Implicit viewpoints were used very frequently, while instances of free indirect speech or thought were only rarely found. Since reported discourse in the free indirect mode results in stronger perspectivization than the use of implicit viewpoints (Sanders & Redeker, 1996), this finding might be an indication of journalists' hesitance to dramatize their narratives to a degree where they no longer feel able to legitimize their reconstructions (see also Craig, 2006). An additional finding seems to point in that direction: thought reports were only rarely encountered in our corpus, indicating that reconstructing the thoughts of news sources, which are by definition unverifiable, is considered "a bridge too far" by most journalists.

On a methodological level, this study shows that detailed modeling of reported discourse can be operationalized in global and broadly applicable rules for the analysis of a large corpus of texts which differ widely in age, length and complexity. Our cognitive linguistic model explains for the different pragmatic functions of discourse reports by visualizing the various situational spaces – each with their own topology in terms of time and place – that are set up by news narratives and through which readers move while processing news narratives. Application of our model to the corpus texts yielded

reliable results which point towards clear, objective, and generalizable conclusions about the linguistic forms and contextual functions of space building in narrative news discourse. These results can be translated into specific expectations about the effects of the various space building types on readers' processing and evaluation of news narratives. Whereas narrative-external discourse reports can be expected to increase the perceived truthfulness of news narratives, narrative-internal discourse reports can be expected to increase readers' engagement with these narratives to a degree where they virtually experience the reported news events from up close, as *mediated witnesses* (Van Krieken, Hoeken, et al., 2015).

The focus of the present study was limited to a specific journalistic subgenre (narratives) and a specific topic (murder). These narratives can be exemplary for the coverage of unplanned and unsettling news events, such as terrorist attacks and nature disasters, where journalists are typically not present in person and thus intrinsically need to reconstruct what has happened. Obviously, the results of this study may not be generalizable to the news coverage of "planned" news events, such as political debates and election campaigns, where journalists can await the events to cover them. In the news coverage of such events, discourse reports typically fulfill alternative functions, for instance as strategies to portray a politician in a positive or a negative frame (Gidengil & Everitt, 2003). Examining historical developments in reported discourse in political news could further advance our understanding of how the pragmatics of speech and thought reports in journalism has changed over time.

Appendix 5A Original Excerpts in Dutch

All excerpts are taken from narratives included in the corpus.

Excerpt 5.1

Zondag j.l. vertelde mevrouw Parasol aan haren man, dat zij de Boeuf Gras wilde zien en dat een harer vriendinnen, mevrouw C, haar venster voor haar beschikbaar had gesteld. De heer Parasol keurde dit bezoek zijner vrouw goed; op etenstijd was mevr. P. echter nog niet thuis. Haar echtgenoot telephoneerde onmiddellijk naar mevr. C, doch deze wist van niets.

‘s Avonds om elf uur, daar kwam mevrouw aan.
„Waar ben je geweest?” vroeg de heer P.
„Dat gaat je niet aan” antwoordde mevrouw met een hoonlach.

Onmiddellijk haalde de heer Parasol een revolver voor den dag en schoot twee malen. Mevrouw P. werd in de rechter long getroffen door den eersten kogel, en door den tweeden in het hoofd. Doodelijk gewond stortte zij neder.

Excerpt 5.2

Toen Lieke bij vader in de slaapkamer was, verscheen hij met een capuchon die hij van een regenpak had afgescheurd en stelde zich achter vader Jan op. De blik die Lieke hem toewierp vatte hij op als toestemming: "Doe 't dan!" En ze riep ook: "Ik blijf voor altijd bij je!"

Hij sloeg de capuchon over Jans gezicht en trok hem achterover. "Hou hem goed vast", zei Lieke. Gisteren bevestigde ze: "Ons pap was toen vrij snel weg."

Excerpt 5.3

In de nacht van 19 op 20 mei 1991 bezocht J. een discotheek in Sevenum. Daar raakte hij geïrriteerd door het gedrag van K. uit Lottum. J. besloot even af te koelen in zijn auto op het industrieterrein en ging even later naar het huis van zijn zus waar hij een stuk trapleuning uit de tuin haalde. Hij was van plan het latere slachtoffer een behoorlijk lesje te leren. […] „Ik heb er spijt van," zei J. gisteren, benadrukkend dat hij K. alleen maar had opgezocht om de kwestie op te lossen.

Appendix 5B Code Book

I DEFINITIONS

A VIEWPOINT[20]

1. Narration (N)[21]

Stretch of discourse with no viewpoint representation involved.
e.g. *He walked away.*

Subcategories of N:

1.1. Narration with a Partial Quotation (N*q*)

e.g. *Changes made to take the 'oppression' out of Christianity.*

1.2. Narration with a Narrative Report of Writing (N*w*)

e.g. *Bob wrote about his outrage.*

1.3. Narration with a Narrative Report of Speech Act (N*n*)

Indicates the speech act value of an utterance, often with a specification of the topic of the speech act, but no more elaboration of what was said in the anterior

[20] Definitions and some of the example sentences were taken or adapted from Banfield (1982); Semino and Short (2004); Vandelanotte (2004a, b); Sanders and Redeker (1993, 1996); and Sanders (2010).
[21] Semino and Short (2004); Sanders (2010).

discourse is made. Prototypically has one clause with the 'speech report' verb often (but not always) followed by a noun phrase or a prepositional phrase indicating the topic of the speech presented.

e.g. *He told her about his imminent return.*
He spoke for hours.

1.4 Narration with a Narrative Report of Speech Act and a Partial Quotation (N*nq*)

e.g. *He spoke for hours about his 'struggle with narcotics'.*
He called the situation 'a disastrous' affair.

2. Implicit Viewpoint (IMPL)[22]

Stretch of discourse that presupposes a character's consciousness – without quoting this consciousness explicitly – as indicated by

(1) a verb of perception, cognition, or epistemic modality in the active voice or in the passive voice with the agent mentioned in a *by*-construction;

(2) the use of an opinion indicator like *thus* or *according to*;

(3) a metaphoric phrase expressing a cognition or emotion; or

(4) a construction with *to be* + an adjective expressing a cognition or emotion.

[22] Sanders and Redeker (1993, 1996); Sanders (2010).

(5) a reference to an internal bodily state to express an emotion or state of mind.

e.g. *He saw the lighthouse.*
[verb of perception]

He thought about his mother.
[verb of cognition]

The police could arrest the man.
[verb of epistemic modality]

According to a police spokesperson, no drugs were found in the apartment.
[opinion indicator]

His mind raced to his mother.
[metaphoric phrase expressing a cognition]

He was distraught/excited/furious.
[to be + adjective expressing cognition/emotion]

Something inside him snapped.
[reference to internal bodily state expressing an emotion/state of mind]

Subcategory of IMPL:

2.1. Implicit Viewpoint with a Partial Quotation (IMPL*q*)
e.g. *He heard 'wild popping' in the hallway.*

3. Direct Speech or Thought (DST)[23]

Stretch of discourse reporting speech or thought in its original form. Usually enclosed in quotation marks with the speaker mentioned in the reporting clause.

e.g. *He said: "I'll definitely come back tomorrow."*
"What was that?" she thought.

Instances of Free Direct Speech or Thought, i.e. direct quotations without a reporting clause, are here considered to be instances of DST.

e.g. *The man walked towards the door. "I'll definitely come back tomorrow."*

Subcategory of DST:

3.1 Direct Writing (DST*w*)

e.g. *"I am outraged," wrote Bob.*

NOTE: in the case of DST, the reporting clause (*he said*, *wrote Bob*, *etc.*) is a separate unit of analysis.

[23] Semino and Short (2004).

4. Indirect Speech or Thought (IST)[24]

Stretch of discourse reporting *what* was said or thought, but not *how* it was said or thought. IST is characterized by a subordinated conjunction; the reporting clause is typically followed by a complementizer (usually *that* or, in questions, *whether* or *if*).

e.g. *He said that he would return the following day.*
She realized that she had forgotten her laptop.

Instances of a finite reporting clause with a non-finite reported clause are also instances of IST.

e.g. *The doctor advised him to restrict his engagements as much as possible.*

Instances of "truncated" IST, i.e. indirect speech and thought without a reporting clause, also fall into this category.

e.g. *The waitress said that she had to work until 5.*
That she was tired.

Subcategories of IST:

4.1 Indirect Speech or Thought with a Partial Quotation (IST*q*)

e.g. *He said that the situation was 'a disastrous' affair.*

4.2 Indirect Writing (IST*w*)

e.g. *Bob wrote that he was outraged.*

[24] Semino and Short (2004).

4.3 Indirect Writing with a Partial Quotation (IST*wq*)

e.g. *Bob wrote that he was 'outraged'.*

5. Free Indirect Speech or Thought (FIST)[25]

The representation of a character's speech or thought by a combination of direct discourse with narratorial commentary. FIST shares linguistic features associated with both DST and IST. In FIST, grammatical person and tense are linked to the vantage point of the narrator, whereas temporal and spatial adverbs are linked to the vantage point of the person whose speech or thought is represented (e.g., the co-occurrence of a past tense verb with a proximal temporal deictic like 'now' is a typical form of FIST).

Other formal features associated with FIST include:

- absence of quotation marks
- FIST is non-embedded, i.e., it is never preceded by a subordinating conjunction
- like direct speech, FIST may be accompanied by a parenthetical clause
- exclamations, repetitions and hesitations
- inversion, topicalization, adverb-preposing
- incomplete sentences
- change of verb tense (e.g. past simple to past perfect)

e.g. *Yes, he would definitely come back tomorrow.*
She approached a police officer. Could he perhaps tell her the way to the station?
He claimed that he had nothing to do with the incident. He had

[25] Banfield (1982); Semino and Short (2004).

gone to bed early that evening.

Subcategory of FIST

5.1 Free Indirect Speech or Thought with a Partial Quotation (FISTq)

e.g. He would now think she had 'lost control'.

6. Distancing Indirect Speech or Thought (DIST)[26]

A form of direct speech with the word order of an independent clause, characterized by the absence of inverted commas. The reporting clause typically appears in mid-sentence or sentence-final position. DIST involves a non-literal presentation of the words of another person with certain transformations in the finite form and deictic elements referring to time, place and person.

e.g. The killer then began shooting, said Perkins.
He went to The Hague, he said, to visit his mother.

Subcategories of DIST:

6.1 Distancing Indirect Speech or Thought with a Partial Quotation (DIST*q*)

e.g. He went to see his 'retarded' mother, he said.

[26] Vandelanotte (2004a, b).

6.2 Distancing Indirect Writing (DIST*w*)

e.g. He went to The Hague, he wrote, to visit his mother.

6.3 Distancing Indirect Writing with a Partial Quotation (DIST*wq*)

e.g. He went to The Hague, he wrote, to visit is 'retarded' mother.

MULTIPLE VIEWPOINTS

A sentence can represent more than one viewpoint:

1. Represented discourse within implicit viewpoint

e.g. According to a friend, the suspect had repeatedly claimed that he was going to kill his wife.

2. Implicit viewpoint within implicit viewpoint

e.g. John noticed that his wife felt tired.

3. Change of viewpoint type

e.g. When he heard loud screaming, he thought something bad must have happened.

NOTE: a sentence with an implicit viewpoint within represented discourse does not qualify as representing multiple perspectives.

e.g. "I saw him standing over there."

This example qualifies as DST.

B. Discourse Space

1. Narrative-External Discourse Space

Discourse representing what was said or thought after the events took place, outside the narrative. This includes all discourse during trials and interviews with journalists.

e.g. "I never meant to actually kill her," John D. explained during his trial.

2. Narrative-Internal Discourse Space

Discourse representing what was said or thought during the events, inside the narrative.

e.g. John D. stabbed his wife in the chest, screaming "Shut up! Shut up!"

3. Narrative-Internal Discourse Space embedded in Narrative-External Discourse Space

Discourse representing what was said or thought during the events, inside the narrative, which is accessed through a narrative-external discourse space.

e.g. *"I never meant to actually kill her," John D. explained during his trial. "But when she looked at me she said: "I have never really loved you, you know". Then I just snapped."*

Here, the underlined sentence qualifies as Narrative-Internal Discourse embedded in Narrative-External Discourse Space. The other DST-sentences qualify as Narrative-External Discourse.

II PROCEDURE

Step 1

Determine whether the sentence is (part of) a headline or subheading or an editorial comment about location, date, or author; or is otherwise *not part of the main text* (e.g., "Breda, September 7." / "From our staff writer.")

0 No
1 Yes

→ If 0, continue with **step 2**.

→ If 1, return to **step 1** and proceed with the next sentence.

Step 2

Determine whether there are multiple perspectives represented within the sentence.

0 No
1 Yes

Step 3

Determine the type of narration/viewpoint.

1	Narration.
11	Narration with a partial quotation.
12	Narration with a report of writing.
13	Narration with a narrative report of speech act.
14	Narration with a narrative report of speech act and a partial quotation.
2	Implicit viewpoint.
21	Implicit viewpoint with a partial quotation.
3	Direct speech/thought/writing.
4	Indirect speech/thought/writing.
41	Indirect speech/thought/writing with a partial quotation.
5	Free indirect speech or thought.
51	Free indirect speech or thought with a partial quotation.
6	Distancing indirect speech/thought/writing.
61	Distancing indirect speech/thought/writing with a partial quotation.
7	Multiple viewpoints.

→ If (one of) the perspective(s) is DST, IST, FIST, or DIST, continue with **step 4**.
→ Otherwise continue with **step 6**.

Step 4

Determine the modality of the viewpoint.

0	Speech
1	Thought
2	Writing
3	Undetermined
4	Multiple modalities

Step 5

Determine the location of the space in which the discourse is anchored.

1	Narrative-External
2	Narrative-Internal
3	Narrative-Internal embedded in Narrative-External

Return to **step 1** and proceed with the next sentence.

Chapter 6

The Engaging Effects of Crime News Narratives

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6 The Engaging Effects of Crime News Narratives

Abstract

This study tests the claim that news narratives about shocking criminal acts enable readers to become mediated witnesses, which implies that readers identify with actual eyewitnesses to a crime and vicariously experience the crime from up close. In an experiment (n = 128), participants read an original narrative newspaper article about a mass shooting or an original non-narrative article about the same event. Results provided evidence for a mediated witness experience: readers of the narrative identified more strongly with eyewitnesses to the crime and had a stronger sense of being present at the shooting than readers of the non-narrative article.

6.1 Introduction

While research on the engaging and persuasive effects of fictional narratives has accumulated over the past years (e.g., Appel, 2011, 2008; Vaughn, Hesse, Petkova, & Trudeau, 2009; De Graaf et al., 2012; Murphy et al., 2013), studies about the effects of journalistic narratives remain scarce. Such studies are, however, called for by observations of the increasing narrativization of journalism (Hartsock, 2007; Kitch, 2009; Singer, 2010). The use of narrative techniques appears to be a particularly attractive means to report on criminal events (Johnston & Graham, 2012: 517-523). Consider, for example, the following excerpt, which is the opening scene of a newspaper article about a mass murder at an elementary school in Newtown, Connecticut:

Excerpt 6.1

> Sandy Hook Elementary School nurse Sarah Cox was on the phone with her daughter, Bonnie, when she heard the strange, loud popping noise coming from outside.
>
> "What's that?" Cox asked. […]
>
> Within seconds, the popping sounds stopped as quickly as they had started, and Cox held her breath when she heard someone open her office door. Through the openings of the desk, she saw a pair of legs from the knees down wearing dark clothing and boots.
>
> (The New York Post 2012, December 16)

The anecdotal lead in excerpt 6.1 is a key characteristic of journalistic narratives. Contrary to traditional summary leads, anecdotal leads do not provide newsworthy information about what happened, but draw the attention of the reader by setting a scene and describing the experiences of people involved in the news events (Johnston & Graham, 2012; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013a). In the coverage of disturbing news events, journalistic narratives are often argued to fulfill an important function: they help society to cope with these events by offering interpretations in archetypical frames of "good and evil" or "hero and villain" (Berkowitz, 2010, 2005; Lule, 2002). Note that in excerpt 6.1, the school nurse impersonates the "good" while the "evil" is represented by the dark clothes belonging to the shooter.

On the level of individual readers, it is claimed that journalistic crime narratives "invite" the reader to experience the events as a *mediated witness* (Peelo, 2006). As Peelo (2006) argues, the function of a mediated witness experience is twofold. First, it allows readers to align themselves emotionally with the victims and witnesses to a crime and, in a broader sense, to redefine their position in society in

terms of moral values. Second, it allows readers to experience the criminal event from up close without having to deal with the recovery that real victims and witnesses have to deal with. A mediated witness experience thus helps readers to "make sense" of shocking news events by substituting their lack of personal experience with vicarious experience. In excerpt 6.1, for instance, the chronological ordering of events as they are observed by the school nurse encourages readers to virtually place themselves in the position of this eyewitness during the attack.

In sum, journalistic narratives about disturbing news events are thought to fulfill functions related to society as a whole and functions related to individuals belonging to that society. However, while scholars have described these functions in meticulous detail, and while journalists have formulated the intuitive suggestion that narratives engage readers, there have been few attempts to test these contentions (Johnston & Graham, 2012: 530). The present study aims to fill part of this gap. It focuses on the impact of a narrative newspaper article about a shocking criminal event on the reader's experience of being a mediated witness to this event. As such, this study extends research on fictional narratives to journalistic narratives, thus advancing our knowledge about the effects of narratives we encounter in our day-to-day lives.

6.1.1 Effects of Journalistic Narratives

Several studies have examined the effects of journalistic narratives on the audience. In print journalism, narrativity in news stories–established by the use of narrative structures such as a chronological ordering of events and the representation of characters' inner perspectives (cf. Fleischman, 1985)–increases suspense, curiosity, and reading enjoyment (Knobloch et al., 2004; Sanders & Redeker, 1993). In broadcast journalism, narrative structures increase viewers'

comprehension and retention of news items (Machill et al., 2007). These findings indicate that journalistic narratives are processed and evaluated differently than traditional, non-narrative news reports. More specifically, they suggest that journalistic narratives resemble fictional narratives in their ability to communicate information in a way that is both entertaining and educating (cf. Slater & Rouner, 2002). This raises the question whether journalistic narratives, like fictional narratives, can also engage their readers cognitively and emotionally.

Two different approaches have been undertaken to examine the engaging effects of journalistic narratives. In the first approach, the genre expectations were manipulated (Green & Brock, 2000, experiments 1-3; Appel & Malečkar, 2012, study 2). In these experiments, participants read a narrative that was introduced either as a fictional story or as a newspaper article. Their engagement with the narrative was assessed after reading either one of the genre introductions and the subsequent narrative. The results revealed that journalistic narratives are just as engaging as fictional narratives.[27] In the second approach, a comparison was made between a narrative newspaper article and a non-narrative, informative newspaper article (Shen et al., 2014; Oliver et al., 2012). These studies have demonstrated that narrative news articles are more engaging than non-narrative news articles.

The findings of these previous studies thus seem to indicate that the use of a narrative format in journalism is an effective route to engage readers. There are, however, two issues that complicate these findings and make general assertions about the engaging effects of journalistic narratives premature. The first issue concerns the

[27] In Appel and Malečkar (2012), a third condition was included in which the narrative was introduced as a fake story. Readers of the fake story were less engaged than readers of the fictional and nonfictional stories. In Green and Brock (2000), experiment 3, a third condition was included in which the narrative was introduced as a dream. This condition evoked a degree of engagement similar to the fiction and nonfiction conditions.

representativeness of the narrative used in previous studies. In the studies by Shen et al. (2014) and Oliver et al. (2012), experimental texts were developed with the help of professional journalists in order to increase the authenticity of the materials. The studies that manipulated genre expectations (Green & Brock, 2000; Appel & Malečkar, 2012), on the other hand, used Sherwin Nuland's non-journalistic story "Murder at the mall" and presented it as a journalistic narrative. The question is to what degree this story is representative of real journalistic articles. To illustrate this issue, the following excerpt provides a portion of "Murder at the mall" (Nuland, 1994: 125).

Excerpt 6.2

> People were scattering in all directions, trying to get away from a large, disheveled man who stood over a fallen little girl, his outstretched right arm pummeling furiously away at her. Even through the haze of her frozen incomprehension, Joan knew instantly that the child lying on her side at the crazed man's feet was Katie. At first, she saw only the arm, then realized all at once that in its hand was clutched a long bloody object. It was a hunting knife, about seven inches long. Using all his strength, up and down, up and down, in rapid pistonlike motions, the assailant was hacking away at Katie's face and neck.

Excerpt 6.2 is illustrative of the highly graphic and detailed style in which "Murder at the mall" is written. Journalistic narratives are often less vivid since journalists have to reconstruct what has happened in reality without having witnessed this themselves, and they are not allowed to invent any details either. Indeed, as Green and Brock state,

"Murder at the mall" displays "a rich descriptive style that would not be typical of a straight journalistic account" (Green & Brock, 2000: 705).

Another stylistic difference between "Murder at the mall" and journalistic narratives lies in the use of source attributions. Journalists, as opposed to non-journalistic writers, have to attribute information to their sources in order to guarantee the truthfulness of the narrative. Consider excerpt 6.3 below, taken from the *New York Post* narrative about the Newtown elementary shooting.

Excerpt 6.3

> Cox, known as Sally to friends and co-workers, took no chances. "I just dove under my computer desk," she told the Post in an interview at her home in Newtown, a day after Adam Lanza stormed into her school and gunned down 20 children and six staffers.
>
> (The New York Post 2012, December 16)

In this excerpt, the journalist uses a direct quotation as a "grounding" device (Vis et al., 2015): it demonstrates that the journalist has spoken to the eyewitness and thus affirms the trustworthiness of the narrative. This trustworthiness is even further enhanced by the details provided about the time and location of the conversation between journalist and eyewitness. Such source attributions interrupt the flow of the narrative and force readers to temporarily step out of the narrative world, thereby hindering their engagement (Lorenz, 2005; Craig, 2006: 60-68). Crucially, these attributions are mandatory in journalistic narratives but absent in "Murder at the mall".

In sum, the journalistic requirements of truthfulness and source attribution have implications for the style of news narratives and supposedly the engagement of the reader. The narrative used in the studies by Green and Brock (2000) and Appel and Maleçkar (2012) does not meet these requirements to the degree that they are met in real news narratives. In essence, then, the results of these studies leave much to guess about the engaging effects of *actual* narratives as they are being published in newspapers. To overcome this issue, the present study examines the effects of an original newspaper narrative.

The second issue concerns the way engagement was measured in previous studies, which has not provided a clear view on the exact nature of the engaging effects of news narratives. The studies by Shen et al. (2014) and Oliver et al. (2012) used engagement and empathy as distinct measures, while conceptualizations of engagement often include empathy as a specific dimension of engagement (e.g., Busselle & Bilandzic, 2009; Slater & Rouner, 2002). Furthermore, all four previous studies on engagement with journalistic narratives (Shen et al., 2014; Oliver et al., 2012; Green & Brock, 2000; Busselle & Bilandzic, 2009) used the unidimensional *transportation scale* (Green & Brock, 2000) to measure readers' engagement. However, it is commonly agreed that engagement with a narrative is a multidimensional experience, and many analyses show that the transportation scale is in fact not unidimensional (e.g., Slater et al., 2006; Oliver et al., 2012). Using the transportation scale may therefore not provide us with a thorough understanding of the engaging effects of journalistic narratives.

In describing different reading experiences, Oatley (1999) makes a meaningful distinction between spectatorship (i.e., the reader is present in the story world as an unobserved observer) and identification (i.e., the reader takes on the perspective of a character and observes the story events from this character's perspective). In examining the effects of journalistic narratives on the reader's experience of being a mediated witness, it is important to determine not only if these narratives can cause the reader to feel "present" at

news events, but also whether the reader then observes these events as a spectator or–through identification–from the perspective of a real eyewitness. As a result of using the transportation scale, previous studies have been incapable of distinguishing between these different types of reading experiences. To overcome this issue, the present study uses the multidimensional concept of narrative engagement to operationalize and assess the reader's experience of being a mediated witness to a shocking crime.

6.1.2 Narrative Engagement

Busselle and Bilandzic (2009) have introduced the concept of *narrative engagement* to capture the different sensations people can experience while reading a narrative. They identify four distinct dimensions of narrative engagement. The first dimension is labeled *narrative presence* and refers to the reader's phenomenological experience of leaving the actual world and entering the narrative world. This sense of going to an alternative world provided by the narrative is similar to the notion of *transportation* as it was first described by Gerrig (1993: 10-11), namely as a journey undertaken by the reader to "some distance from his or her world of origin, which makes some aspects of the world of origin inaccessible".

The second dimension, *emotional engagement*, refers to both the emotional alignment with a narrative's character and the emotions evoked by that narrative. This dimension shares similarities with Oatley's (1999) notion of identification. Through identification, readers come to feel emotions for and share emotions with narrative characters.

Attentional focus is the third dimension which denotes an intense concentration on the narrative. This dimension refers to a state in which readers forget about their physical surroundings and are undistracted by events occurring in the real world. As Busselle and

Bilandzic (2009) argue, this state of intense focus remains unnoticed until the reader becomes distracted and needs to refocus.

The fourth dimension, *narrative understanding*, refers to the reader's understanding of the narrative. According to Busselle and Bilandzic (2009), narrative understanding does not contribute to narrative engagement; it is rather that a lack of narrative understanding has a negative effect on narrative engagement. If readers fail to understand, for instance, how events are related to each other, engagement will be disrupted.

As stated above, a mediated witness experience is believed to consist of two components: the virtual experience of a crime from up close and the emotional alignment with eyewitnesses to that crime. These components appear to correspond to the narrative presence and emotional engagement dimensions of narrative engagement. These two dimensions are therefore used in this study to measure readers' experience of being a mediated witness to shocking criminal acts. Based on previous studies on the engaging effects of narratives (Green & Brock, 2000; Appel & Malečkar, 2012; Shen et al., 2014; Oliver et al., 2012), the following hypotheses are formulated:

Hypothesis 1a: A journalistic narrative about a shocking criminal news event evokes a stronger sense of narrative presence than a non-narrative news report about the same event.

Hypothesis 1b: A journalistic narrative about a shocking criminal news event evokes a stronger emotional engagement than a non-narrative news report about the same event.

In addition, as this study aims to advance our knowledge of the engaging effects of journalistic narratives, a third hypothesis is

formulated with respect to attentional focus, the third dimension of narrative engagement:

Hypothesis 1c: A journalistic narrative about a shocking criminal news event evokes a stronger attentional focus on the text than a non-narrative news report about the same event.

In order to test these hypotheses, an experiment was conducted of which the details are discussed in the following section.

6.2 Method

6.2.1 Stimulus Materials

The experimental materials consisted of two original newspaper articles, published in different Dutch broadsheet newspapers, about a spree killing that took place in the Netherlands on April 9, 2011. On that day, a young man entered a crowded shopping mall and killed 6 persons and wounded another 17 before he took his own life. It was the deadliest shooting caused by an individual in the history of the Netherlands. Both articles were published on Monday April 11, 2011. Since the shooting took place on a Saturday and no newspapers are issued in the Netherlands on Sunday, they were both among the first newspaper articles about the event to be published.

The first article (*NRC Handelsblad*, 2011) can be characterized as a narrative reconstruction of the events. This article was selected because it relates the spree killing to a large degree through the perspectives of eyewitnesses, which should enable the reader to identify with these persons (De Graaf et al., 2012) and thus facilitate a

mediated witness experience. In addition, the narrative provides a chronological account of the event and includes much information about the spatiotemporal setting (e.g., the route of the perpetrator through the mall and the different shops he encounters at different points in time), which should stimulate the reader's sense of being present inside the mall during the events. The article is narrated in the present tense and consists of 1,238 words.

The second article (*De Volkskrant,* 2011) can be characterized as a traditional news report. This non-narrative article covers the event itself and a number of consequences, such as the number of deaths and wounded, the police investigation, and a commemoration in presence of the prime minister. In this article, the facts are presented from the impersonal perspective of a detached observer, i.e., the journalist. The events are non-chronologically ordered in a classical "inverted pyramid" structure: the most recent information is given first, followed by the elaboration of less recent information (see, for example, Pöttker, 2003). The article is written in the past tense and consists of 402 words. Table 6.1 provides excerpts of the two articles.

Because of the considerable difference in number of words between the articles, a third article was created to control for possible effects of length. In this article, the news report from *De Volkskrant* was supplemented with (parts of) seven other original news reports that all provided additional information about the spree killing and its aftermath (e.g., commemorations, church services, hospitalized victims). Like the short news report, the extended report was presented entirely from an impersonal, detached perspective and the events were ordered in a non-chronological fashion. Minimal adjustments were made to ensure smooth transitions between the different parts of the report. The extended article consisted of 1,215 words. As such, this third version matched the style of the short news report and the length of the narrative and could thus be used to control for length effects. In accordance with the hypotheses, it was expected that readers of the extended news report would be equally engaged as

Table 6.1: Excerpts of the Two Different Newspaper Articles about the Spree Killing

News narrative (*NRC Handelsblad*, April 11, 2011)	**News report** (*De Volkskrant*, April 11, 2011)
The indoor shopping mall is crowded. Van der V. calmly passes het Kruidvat, de Zeeman, de Hubo. Shooting. Glass flies around. People fall, run away, duck away. He walks on.	The 24-year old man from Alphen aan den Rijn who caused a massacre Saturday around noon in shopping mall De Ridderhof in his hometown, had a psychiatric past and was 'clearly suicidal'.
An older man escapes in front of him and ducks into the Hubo. He was recently with his granddaughter, but he has lost her. Quickly he gets up again. He sees a man and a woman lying on the ground, bathed in blood. He sees fear, panic. He finds his granddaughter again. She is unharmed. She had walked along with other people.	That is what public prosecutor Kitty Nooy said on Sunday. A motive for his act is not known yet. It is investigated how someone with psychiatric problems can get a weapon license.
In the C1000 magazine, on the second floor, Lennart Schellinghout is working. He hears cracks. "At first I thought something fell on the floor." […]	The young man, Tristan van der V., killed six persons with an automatic firearm during his rampage through the shopping mall: three men (80, 49, and 42 years old) and three women (91, 68, and 45 years old), all from Alphen aan den Rijn. Among them is a political refugee from Syria. […]

readers of the short news report but less engaged than readers of the narrative.

Importantly, basic facts about the shooting were given in all three conditions. All texts contained the same information about the time, date, and place of the shooting, the identity of the shooter, the number of people who died, and the number of people who got injured. Thus, information about the most important aspects of the shooting was equal across the stimuli.

6.2.2 Participants and Procedure

A total of 131 persons participated in the study. The results for three participants were excluded from the study because Dutch was not their native language. The final sample consisted of 128 participants (62.5% female, 37.5% male). Age varied between 15 and 74, with an average of 32.9 (SD = 16.3). Level of education varied between participants: 11.7% received secondary education, 17.2% received middle-level vocational training (Dutch MBO), 38.3% received a higher professional education (Dutch HBO), and 32.8% received a scientific education.

Experimenters randomly approached people who were shopping in the center of a large town in the Eastern Netherlands. People who agreed to participate were taken to a quiet and private location. There they were randomly assigned to one of the three conditions and read the article in a homelike environment. The participants also completed a second (unrelated) study and received a gift voucher of €10 afterwards.

6.2.3 Design

The study used a between-subjects design with three conditions. One group (n = 42) read the narrative, one group (n = 44) read the short news report, and one group (n = 42) read the extended news report. All participants answered all questions after reading the article.

6.2.4 Measures

A questionnaire was designed to measure three dimensions of participants' engagement with the narrative. For all items, participants were asked to indicate their agreement on a 7-point Likert scale. The

dimensions of narrative presence and emotional engagement were used to assess readers' experience of being a mediated witness to the shooting. In addition, the dimension of attentional focus was included to test whether journalistic narratives can cause readers to become completely focused on the story.[28] These three dimensions were measured with 21 items, adapted from De Graaf et al. (2012). Furthermore, four items were included to measure the perceived representativeness of the articles and participants' individual consumption of news about the shooting. These measures were used to control for possible effects caused by the difference between the original articles on the one hand and the extended article on the other or participants' pre-exposure to news related to the shooting.

Narrative engagement. Narrative presence was measured with seven items such as "During reading, I had the feeling as if I was present at the events in the news article" and "When I was reading the news article, it seemed as if I was there in my thoughts".

Emotional engagement was measured with ten items, for instance, "The article affected me" and "During reading, I empathized with the people (eyewitnesses and victims) who were inside the shopping mall".

Attentional focus was measured with four items, for example: "During reading, I was fully concentrated on the news article" and "I did not really notice things that happened around me".

A Principal Axis Factor analysis with oblimin rotation was run on all items to determine whether the items loaded on the expected dimensions of narrative engagement (see appendix). The analysis

[28] Narrative understanding, the fourth dimension of narrative engagement, was left out of the study since this dimension does not contribute actively to the engagement of the reader; it is rather that a lack of narrative understanding disrupts readers' engagement. The experimental texts were cohesive and described concrete situations and actions, and it was therefore unlikely that participants would have a hard time understanding the texts and would consequently be obstructed in their engagement.

showed a solution in five factors, with the dimension of emotional engagement being disassembled into three different factors. The total variance explained was 64.53%.

Factor 1 contained all seven items of narrative presence and was therefore called Narrative Presence (α = .89). Factor 2 contained four items about emotional engagement ("The article affected me", "I found the article moving", "Because of the article, feelings arose in me", and "The article stirred emotions in me"). Since these items are about emotions towards the article and emotions elicited by the article, this dimension was labeled Emotions (α = .89). Factor 3 contained two items about emotional engagement ("During reading, I had the feeling I went through what the people inside the shopping mall went through" and "In my imagination, it was as if I was one of them"; r = .63**). These items are about vicarious experience. This factor was therefore called Identification With Eyewitnesses. Factor 4, Attentional Focus, contained all four items about attentional focus (α = .82). Factor 5 contained the four remaining items of emotional engagement ("During reading, I empathized with the people inside the shopping mall", "During reading, I imagined what it would be like to be in the position of one of them", "While reading, I felt for them", and "During reading, I sympathized with them"; α = .88). Since these items mostly reflect feelings of empathy with the eyewitnesses, this dimension was labeled Empathy With Eyewitnesses.

Control items. Two items were included to control for participants' individual consumption of news about the spree killing: "I paid close attention to news about this event" and "I read a lot of newspaper articles about this event" (r = .69**). In addition, two items were included to rule out the possibility that effects were caused by differences between the two original articles on the one hand and the extended article on the other: "I find this a representative example of a newspaper article" and "I find it plausible that this newspaper article has actually been published in a newspaper" (r = .70**).

6.3 Results

First, an ANOVA was run to examine whether the extended article was perceived as less representative than the two original articles. An effect of text version on representativeness was found (F (2, 124) = 7.08, p = .001, partial η^2 = .10). Post hoc comparisons showed that the narrative (M = 3.66, SD = 1.78) was considered to be a less representative example of a journalistic text than the short news report (M = 4.92, SD = 1.30; p < .001) and the extended news report (M = 4.60, SD = 1.71; p = .029). The comparison between the short news report and the extended news report was not significant (p = .133). The extended news report was thus considered to be more representative than the narrative and equally representative as the short news report, which rules out the possibility that effects were caused by a difference in authenticity between the two original articles on the one hand and the extended article on the other.

Next, the hypotheses were tested using a multivariate analysis of covariance (MANCOVA). To control for participants' pre-exposure to news about the shooting, the individual news consumption variable was included in the analysis as a covariate. The analysis revealed an effect of this covariate on participants' engagement with the news article (Wilks's λ = .87, F (5, 120) = 3.48, p = .006, partial η^2 = .13). The covariate was positively related to all five dimensions of narrative engagement (Narrative Presence: F (1, 124) = 10.05, p = .002, partial η^2 = .08; Emotions: F (1, 124) = 7.28, p = .008, partial η^2 = .06; Empathy With Eyewitnesses: F (1, 124) = 8.30, p = .005, partial η^2 = .06; Identification With Eyewitnesses: F (1, 124) = 9.47, p = .003, partial η^2 = .07; Attentional Focus: F (1, 124) = 13.12, p < .001, partial η^2 = .10). Hence, the more news participants had consumed about the shooting, the higher their engagement with the article was.

Table 6.2 contains the mean scores and standard deviations for all dimensions of narrative engagement after controlling for participants' consumption of news about the shooting.

Table 6.2: Means and Standard Deviations (Between Brackets) for the Five Dimensions of Narrative Engagement by Condition (1 = Low Engagement, 7 = High Engagement)

Dependent variables	Narrative (N = 42)	News report (short, N = 44)	News report (extended, N = 42)
Narrative Presence	5.11 (1.16) [a]	4.11 (1.11) [b]	4.47 (1.06) [b]
Identification With Eyewitnesses	3.35 (1.32) [a]	2.73 (1.52) [b]	2.75 (1.37) [b]
Empathy With Eyewitnesses	4.97 (1.23) [a]	4.18 (1.52) [b]	4.92 (1.26) [a]
Emotions	5.20 (1.25) [a]	4.45 (1.21) [b]	4.92 (1.25) [a,b]
Attentional Focus	4.74 (1.42) [a]	4.24 (1.11) [a, b]	4.15 (1.08) [b]

Note. Means are adjusted for individual news consumption. Different superscripts indicate significant differences between conditions.

The multivariate analysis revealed a main effect of Text version on narrative engagement (Wilks's $\lambda = .79$, F (10, 240) = 2.94, $p = .002$, partial $\eta^2 = .11$). Subsequent univariate analyses showed significant effects of Text version for Narrative Presence (F (2, 124) = 9.44, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .13$), Empathy With Eyewitnesses (F (2, 124) = 4.86, $p = .009$, partial $\eta^2 = .07$), and Emotions (F (2, 124) = 4.21, $p = .017$, partial $\eta^2 = .06$). There were trends for the effect of Text version on Identification With Eyewitnesses (F (2, 124) = 2.83, $p = .063$, partial $\eta^2 = .04$), and Attentional Focus (F (2, 124) = 3.08, $p = .050$, partial $\eta^2 = .07$).

Next, to test the hypotheses that the impact of the narrative version on narrative engagement differed from the news reports, planned comparisons were conducted. In support of Hypothesis 1a, participants who read the narrative reported a stronger feeling of being present at the shooting than participants who read either the short news report ($p < .001$) or the extended news report ($p = .008$). The

comparison between the short news report and the extended news report was not significant (p = .137).

Partial support was found for Hypothesis 1b. Participants who read the narrative identified more strongly with eyewitnesses to the shooting than participants who read the short news report (p = .037) and participants who read the extended news report (p = .048). The comparison between the short news report and the extended news report was not significant (p = .944). In addition, participants who read the narrative and participants who read the extended news report empathized more strongly with eyewitnesses to the shooting than participants who read the short news report (p = .006 and p = .011, respectively). The comparison between the narrative and the extended news report was not significant (p = .865). Finally, participants who read the narrative were emotionally more affected by the text than participants who read the short news report (p = .005). Comparisons between other conditions were not significant (p's > .08).

Hypothesis 1c was also partially supported. Participants who read the narrative were more focused on the news article than participants who read the short news report (p = .024). Comparisons between other conditions were not significant (p's > .05).

6.4 Conclusion and Discussion

The increasing volume of narratives in newspapers has led to a variety of claims about their societal functions (e.g., Berkowitz, 2005; Lule, 2002). Despite this growing professional and academic interest in journalistic narratives, research on their impact on the audience is still in its infancy. The aim of the present study was to extend research on narratives and, in particular, to advance the literature on journalistic narratives by empirically testing the claim that these narratives can turn readers into mediated witnesses to shocking news events (Peelo, 2006).

The experimental results showed that compared to a non-narrative news report, a journalistic narrative about a shocking news event causes readers indeed to feel more "present" at that event and to identify more strongly with eyewitnesses to that event. At the same time, participants did not consider the narrative to be a representative example of a newspaper article and judged it unlikely that this article had actually been published in a newspaper. Hence, despite (or perhaps because of) their suspicions about the actual genre of the narrative, readers allowed themselves to become close to the events and people described in it. The identification scores were, however, in all conditions below the neutral midpoint of the scale. A possible explanation could be that the participants were asked if they identified with a group of eyewitnesses instead of one specific eyewitness, and people find it harder to feel similar to a group of narrative characters than to an individual character (Niederdeppe, Kim, Lundell, Fazili, & Frazier, 2012). Nevertheless, readers of the news narrative had a stronger sense of witnessing the shooting themselves than readers of the non-narrative news reports.

The results also showed that the narrative elicited a stronger attentional focus on the article compared to the extended news report, but not compared to the short news report. It thus appears that reading a long news article is more captivating when it is written in a narrative style compared to a non-narrative, informative style. This finding is important in light of the current newspaper crisis. For journalists and editors who wish to distinguish their news coverage from the coverage of free on-line competitors by publishing longer, in-depth articles, a narrative format is preferable to a traditional format.

In addition, the narrative affected readers' empathy with eyewitnesses and their emotions, but results for these two dimensions of emotional engagement were somewhat inconsistent. Compared to readers of the short news report, but not to readers of the extended news report, readers of the narrative reported stronger emotions evoked by the article. In addition, compared to readers of the short news report, readers of the narrative and readers of the extended news

report empathized more strongly with eyewitnesses. The narrative and the extended news report thus evoked a similar degree of empathy. This result can either be explained as an effect of length or as an effect of the focus on human interest elements which were frequent in both the narrative (i.e., experiences of people directly involved) and the extended news report (i.e., elaborate coverage of commemoration and church services as well as politicians' sympathetic reactions), but not in the short news report.

Overall, these findings complement and extend the results of previous studies which indicate that news narratives have the power to engage readers cognitively and emotionally (Green & Brock, 2000; Appel & Malečkar, 2012; Shen et al., 2014; Oliver et al., 2012). The present study makes three important contributions to these studies. First, by examining an original journalistic narrative, this study provides valid evidence for the engaging effects of journalistic narratives that people consume in their daily lives. Second, by measuring different dimensions of narrative engagement, this study provides more insight into the exact nature of the engaging effects of journalistic narratives. Third, it replicates previous findings using news coverage of a different event in a different culture with a heterogeneous sample of participants, thereby lending support for the generality of the effects of journalistic narratives.

In particular, this study shows that the journalistic requirements of truthfulness and source attribution, which are often thought to interrupt the flow of journalistic narratives (Lorenz, 2005: 60-68; Craig, 2006), do not necessarily have a negative effect on readers' engagement. The engaging force of narrative features apparently prevails over the disrupting force of source attributions. An important next step is to determine which exact narrative features are responsible for evoking this level of engagement. The narrative used in the present study displays various narrative features, each of which can be assumed to have a unique impact on the different dimensions of narrative engagement. Whereas the present tense and the chronological ordering are likely to affect readers' sense of being

present at the news event, verbs of perception (*he sees, hears*) to describe this event from the perspectives of eyewitnesses are likely to affect their emotional engagement. Similarly, choices of referential expressions are thought to affect readers' sense of "being there", whereas choices of grammatical subject are thought to affect their empathetic responses (Van Krieken, Sanders, et al., 2015). Future studies can determine whether these expectations hold through manipulations of these individual features.

In addition, future studies that include a variety of journalistic narratives about different types of news events are necessary to gain a comprehensive view on their impact on the audience. Such studies should also control for possible confounding variables beyond article length. The present study examined the effects of original newspaper articles, which maximized the ecological validity of the study but might have introduced confounds in terms of variations in content and levels of described details. Experiments in which narrative characteristics are manipulated in a controlled way would ensure that any observed differences between narrative newspaper articles and non-narrative newspaper articles can be attributed exclusively to narrativity. Future studies should also examine the effects of narratives about fictional news events or adjust original narratives in such a way that the events they cover are unfamiliar to the readers. The news articles used in the present study covered a spree killing which, in the Netherlands, is a well-known event that has become part of the collective memory. The supposed familiarity of the participants with this event might have obscured the results as it precluded the elicitation–and hence the measurement–of primary emotional responses.

These limitations notwithstanding, this study provides empirical evidence for the claim that journalistic narratives can cause readers to vicariously experience distant news events from up close, as mediated witnesses (Peelo, 2006). As Peelo (2006: 161) argues, the narrative devices journalists use to elicit a mediated witness experience ultimately transcend the individual and contribute to

"public narratives within which societies make sense of crime". Understanding this process requires, besides analytical studies at a macro-level, empirical studies that assess the impact of journalistic crime narratives on groups of individual readers. The study presented in this paper attempts to lay the groundwork for future research in this direction.

Appendix 6A Results of the Principal Axis Factor Analysis

Table 6A: Principal Axis Factor Analysis with Oblimin Rotation of Narrative Engagement Items

	1	2	3	4	5
During reading, I had the feeling as if I was present at the events in the news article (PRES)	.470		.351		
While I was reading the news article, I was in the world of the news article in my imagination (PRES)	.807				
During reading, I had a vivid image of the events in the news article (PRES)	.524				
When I was reading the news article, it seemed as if I was there in my thoughts (PRES)	.606				
During reading, it was as if I were present in the spaces that were described (PRES)	.439		.355		
During reading, I pictured the described events (PRES)	.557				
During reading, I saw before me what was described in the news article (PRES)	.754				
The news article stirred emotions in me (EMO)		.871			
The news article affected me (EMO)		.827			
I found the news article moving (EMO)		.613			
Because of the news article, feelings arose in me (EMO)		.719			
During reading, I had the feeling I went through what the people inside the shopping mall went through (IDEN)			.722		
In my imagination, it was as if I was one of them (IDEN)			.511		

Table 6A (continued)

	1	2	3	4	5
During reading, I was fully concentrated on the news article (ATT)				.562	
During reading, my attention was fully captured by the news article (ATT)	.318			.747	
When I read the news article, my thoughts were only with the article (ATT)				.645	
During reading, I did not really notice things that happened around me (ATT)				.701	
During reading, I empathized with the people inside the shopping mall (EMP)					.714
During reading, I imagined what it would be like to be in the position of one of them (EMP)					.540
While reading, I felt for them (EMP)					.549
During reading, I sympathized with them (EMP)					.820
% of variance explained (before rotation)	43.39	8.46	5.19	4.13	3.37
Sum of squared loadings	6.12	6.10	3.00	5.08	5.18

Note. Factor loadings <.30 are not reported. PRES = item about narrative presence, EMO = item about emotional engagement, IDEN = item about identification with eyewitnesses, ATT = item about attentional focus, EMP = item about empathy with eyewitnesses.

Chapter 7

General Discussion

7 General Discussion

The two main aims of this dissertation were to examine the interplay between the form and function of news narratives and to assess their impact on the audience. To attain these aims, a series of studies was conducted in which divergent research methodologies were employed: interviews, qualitative and quantitative text analyses, and an experiment. This final chapter first draws the main conclusions of the various studies and then discusses the findings in a broader context. Finally, this chapter discusses limitations and outlines directions for future research.

7.1 Main Conclusions

Chapter 1 provided an introduction to the genre of news narratives. A news narrative was defined as a reconstruction of a news event written from the viewpoint of one or more persons involved in the event, often with detailed descriptions of the spatiotemporal setting in which the event took place. This chapter furthermore discussed the history and current practice of narrative journalism in the Netherlands. It was described how the genre is in recent years often being promoted as "new" in a pursuit to stimulate its practice among journalists, even though narrative formats have always been part of the Dutch journalistic landscape.

Chapter 2 aimed to uncover the motivations underlying the current promotion of narrative journalism as well as to gain insight into the functions of narrative techniques in journalism and their presumed effects on the audience. To attain these aims, interviews were held with practitioners of narrative journalism and lecturers in journalism programs. Results of this study revealed that professionals consider the use of narrative techniques in journalism essential to

engage readers and draw them close to the people involved in the news events. Narrative techniques are at the same time seen as dangerous because their use tends to blur the line between fiction and nonfiction, which might ultimately cause journalism to lose its credibility and authority. This threat applies to viewpoint techniques in particular because their use falsely implies that journalists had access to the minds of news sources at the time of the events. Crafting news narratives thus entails a balanced use of viewpoint strategies to reconstruct news events in a dramatic way on the one hand and strategies to affirm the factual status of these reconstructions on the other.

Chapters 3 to 5 examined the linguistic manifestation of viewpoint with the goal to gain insight into the relation between the form and function of news narratives. The studies presented in these chapters focused on crime news narratives because criminal acts are among the most likely topics to be presented in a narrative format in newspaper coverage (Johnston & Graham, 2012). This might be explained by the disturbing nature of criminal acts and the fact that most people have no personal experience of being involved in such events, which makes it hard to imagine what exactly has happened. A unique feature of narratives is that they provide a virtual reality in which their readers can safely "experience" any kind of situation (Boyd, 2009; Mar & Oatley, 2008). Crime news narratives should thus enable readers to vicariously observe events that are otherwise hard to imagine. This is what Peelo (2006) refers to as a *mediated witness experience*, a phenomenological experience in which readers identify with victims and witnesses to a crime and virtually undergo the events themselves. Chapters 3 to 5 addressed the questions as to how viewpoint techniques enable readers to experience shocking news events as mediated witnesses and how the use of such reconstructive techniques is legitimized.

Chapter 3 examined the linguistic manifestation of viewpoint by means of grammatical and referential choices. A comparison was made between news narratives and non-narrative news reports about

criminal acts. Results revealed that in news narratives (but not in news reports), eyewitnesses to the acts took the subject position more frequently than other news actors. Unlike non-narrative news reports, news narratives thus relate criminal acts from the viewpoints of eyewitnesses: the "camera lens" through which the events are narrated is aligned with their spatial perspective (Kuno, 1987). In addition, eyewitnesses were in news narratives (but not in news reports) more often referred to with pronouns than nouns, whereas non-eyewitnesses were more often referred to with nouns than pronouns. This indicates that the viewpoints of eyewitnesses are in news narratives conceptually most accessible and most proximate to the viewpoints of reader and journalist (Ariel, 1988; Van Hoek, 2007). The main conclusion from this chapter is that the language of news narratives differs from the language of non-narrative news reports in terms of the viewpoint chosen from which the events are narrated. The distinctive use of language in news narratives enables readers to put themselves in the position of eyewitnesses, thus facilitating their imagination of events that are otherwise hard to imagine.

Chapter 4 built on these results and aimed to examine the relation between the form and function of news narratives in more detail. To that end, a cognitive linguistic model was developed which conceptualizes a news narrative as a network of *mental spaces* (Fauconnier, 1985; Sweetser & Fauconnier, 1996). These mental spaces represent the various viewpoints involved in the narration. Application of the model to a Dutch and an American news narrative about mass shootings revealed several linguistic strategies that enable readers to enter particular mental spaces and further experience the shootings as mediated witnesses. Verbs of perception (e.g., *see, hear*) and cognition (e.g., *think, realize*) were found to be journalists' main instruments to describe the shootings through the perceptual and psychological viewpoints of eyewitnesses, thereby allowing for a close alignment between the viewpoints of readers and eyewitnesses. Free indirect discourse (in the American narrative) and present tense narration of cognition and perception (in the Dutch narrative) were

identified as blending techniques which compress the viewpoints of journalist, reader, and eyewitness into one shared viewpoint. Such techniques should further increase readers' sense of being a mediated witness to the news events because they provide direct access to the experiences of actual eyewitnesses (cf. Dancygier, 2012a).

The analysis furthermore revealed that reported discourse may serve one of two complementary pragmatic functions in news narratives. Speech and thought reports were found to represent either what news sources were saying and thinking *during* the news events (narrative-internal discourse) or what these sources have said *after* the news events took place (narrative-external discourse). Narrative-internal discourse reports primarily serve to dramatize news narratives as they verbalize the emotions and thoughts of people who find themselves in a life threatening situation. Narrative-external discourse reports serve an additional function of legitimization by signaling the information exchange between news sources and journalist, thus affirming the factual status of the narrative.

Chapter 5 examined historical developments in the use of narrative-internal and narrative-external discourse reports. The model developed in Chapter 4 was applied to a corpus of 300 Dutch news narratives published between 1860 and 2009. Results revealed a dramatic increase in the percentage of narratives which feature narrative-external discourse reports: from 10% between 1860 and 1869 up to 95% between 1990 and 2009. By contrast, the percentage of narratives in which narrative-internal discourse reports were used, showed no development over time. The most important conclusion from this study is that the dominant pragmatic function of reported discourse in news narratives has shifted over time from dramatization to legitimization. Until halfway of the twentieth century, reported discourse was predominantly used to enliven news narratives by reconstructing what news sources were saying and thinking while the news events took place. Then it developed a strongly legitimizing function by demonstrating that the narrative reconstruction is based on

statements provided by these sources to the journalist or registered by the journalist at a later moment in a public setting.

While Chapters 3 to 5 examined how linguistic phenomena regulate the distance between and intertwining of the viewpoints of journalist, reader, and news actor, thus contributing to our understanding of how crime news narratives put readers in the position of mediated witnesses, Chapter 6 provided an empirical test of the occurrence of this experience. A mediated witness experience was conceptualized as two-dimensional in nature: (1) the reader's sense of being present at the scene and (2) the reader's identification with eyewitnesses who play a part in the narrative. In an experiment, participants read an original news narrative about a spree killing or an original non-narrative news article about the same event. The non-narrative news article described the spree killing from an impersonal and detached viewpoint, was non-chronologically ordered in an inverted pyramid structure, and was written in the past tense. The narrative article, by contrast, related the spree killing through the viewpoints of eyewitnesses, was chronologically structured, provided many details about the spatiotemporal setting, and was written in the present tense. Results of the experiment confirmed that readers of the news narrative experienced a stronger sense of being present at the shooting and identified more strongly with the eyewitnesses than readers of the non-narrative news article. The main conclusion from this chapter is that news narratives can indeed create a virtual experience in which readers observe shocking crimes as mediated witnesses.

The main results of the analytical and experimental studies in terms of the relation between the form, function, and impact of news narratives, resulting from Chapters 3 to 6, are integrated in Table 7.1 below. The various viewpoint representation techniques are listed in the first column. These techniques fulfill a variety of functions, as shown in the second column. In addition, they may operate at different levels. The various viewpoint techniques may operate in a very local way: they regulate the distance between the viewpoints of news source

Table 7.1: Relation between the Form, Function, and Impact of Crime News Narratives

Form	Function	Overall impact
Viewpoint techniques (Ch. 3+4)		
Pronominal reference Choice of grammatical subject	Reduce distance between viewpoints of news source and reader	
Verbs of perception Verbs of cognition	Relate events through viewpoint of news source	
Present tense narration of perception and cognition Free Indirect Discourse	Blend viewpoints of news source, journalist, and reader into one shared viewpoint	Mediated witness experience (Ch. 6) Reader is virtually present at the scene Reader identifies with actual eyewitnesses
Reported discourse (Ch. 4+5)		
Narrative-internal discourse	Dramatize the narrative reconstruction	
Narrative-external discourse	Legitimize the narrative reconstruction	

and reader, which may vary continuously as the narrative progresses (see also Dancygier, 2012a). Discourse reports may operate at a local level as well in the sense that stretches of reported discourse may alternate with stretches of narrator's text. However, discourse reports also have text-wide consequences. A narrative-internal discourse report adds a flavor of dramatization to a narrative reconstruction, while the presence of even a single narrative-external discourse report legitimizes the reconstruction by confirming its factual status.

Moreover, the techniques vary in the type of viewpoint representation they effectuate. Use of pronominal references and choice of grammatical subject can be seen as relatively discrete, subtle viewpoint phenomena. They locate the narrative's viewpoint close to a news source, but not inside that source's mind. In narratological terms, these grammatical and referential choices signal narration from an external viewpoint (or: *external focalization* in terms of Genette, 1980). The viewpoints of the news source and the reader are in this situation closely aligned such that the reader looks at the narrative events from over the news source's shoulder. Grammatical and referential choices thus define the *viewing frame* from which readers observe the narrative events (Langacker, 1991: 498-499; Van Hoek, 2007). As such, they are supportive of more drastic viewpoint techniques which locate the narrative's viewpoint *inside* the mind of a news source, such as perceptive and cognitive verbs. In narratological terms, such verbs signal narration from an internal viewpoint (or: *internal focalization* in terms of Genette, 1980). The viewpoints of news source and reader are in this situation even more closely aligned such that the reader looks at the narrative events through the eyes of the news source and thinks with his or her mind.

Finally, the most powerful viewpoint techniques, present tense narration of perception and cognition and free indirect discourse, integrate the viewpoints of journalist, news source, and reader into one shared viewpoint. Present tense narration of perception and cognition signals a blend of timelines between news source and journalist (Dancygier, 2012), whereas free indirect discourse signals an

intertwining of the voices of journalist and news source (Sanders, 2010). Together, the various viewpoint techniques allow for a virtual experience – in a trustworthy setting – in which readers observe the criminal events from up close, as mediated witnesses.

7.2 Discussion of Findings

The research presented in this thesis is located at the intersection of cognitive text linguistics, journalism and discourse studies, and communication studies. This section discusses the findings in each of these contexts.

7.2.1 Implications for Cognitive Text Linguistics

This dissertation adds to the growing body of research indicating that viewpoint phenomena are ubiquitous in every kind of communication, requiring people to manage multiple viewpoints during discourse processing (Sweetser, 2012). Whereas previous cognitive linguistic examinations of narratives mostly focused on rather complex literary works (e.g., Dancygier, 2012a; Copland, 2012), the present thesis sheds light on the form-function relation of news stories that large groups of readers encounter in their day-to-day lives. This is particularly important with respect to the finding that these stories invite their readers to adopt the viewpoints of people directly involved in disturbing news events. The ability to take another person's perspective, commonly known as *theory of mind*, is central to human cognition and social interaction (e.g., Sodian & Kristen, 2010). With their intricate networks of viewpoint, literary narratives appeal to our theory of mind in order to understand fictional characters' feelings, motives, and actions (see Zunshine, 2006). The studies presented in this dissertation show that less literary, nonfictional, everyday

newspaper narratives appeal to our theory of mind in a similar fashion – with the difference that they ask and even require us to take the position of real world persons. This suggests that cognitive linguistic approaches to viewpoint in language and communication can be relevant to research aimed at illuminating the processes through which people relate to and understand each other.

Specific contributions derive from the analytical parts of this thesis, which built on previous research showing that cognitive linguistics offers useful frameworks to examine viewpoint phenomena in both fictional (e.g., Dancygier, 2012a) and nonfictional (e.g., Sanders, 2010) narratives. In these frameworks, the embedding and blending of mental spaces are the central mechanisms that regulate the negotiation between the viewpoints of narrator, character, and reader: space embedding restricts the validity of a particular stretch of discourse to a character such that the information should be interpreted from this character's viewpoint, whereas space blending integrates the viewpoints of narrator and character such that the information should be interpreted from this shared viewpoint (Fauconnier, 1985; Sweetser & Fauconnier, 1996; Sanders & Redeker, 1996). Chapter 3 showed that the negotiation of viewpoints in narrative discourse is also reflected by more subtle viewpoint phenomena: choice of grammatical subject and choice of referential expression. In contrast with speech and thought reports and implicit viewpoints, these linguistic choices do not embed a character's viewpoint nor blend it with the narrator's viewpoint. However, they do situate the narrative's viewpoint closer to or further away from a character such that the metaphoric camera is positioned close to characters in subject position and characters that are referred to with pronouns rather than nouns (Kuno, 1987; Van Hoek, 2007; Langacker, 1987a).

Choices of grammatical subject and pronouns thus signal the presence of a perceiving character whose observations, while remaining implicit themselves, express a certain viewing direction, thereby appointing a specific character as an explicit subject of

consciousness (compare the Subject of Consciousness in the Basic Communicative Spaces Network of Sanders et al., 2012). Since the analysis of subject choice and referential expressions in Chapter 3 showed meaningful patterns in the news narratives but not in the non-narrative news reports, these linguistic choices should be considered significant viewpoint indicators in narrative discourse. The integration of grammar and reference into cognitive linguistic frameworks of narratives allows for a multi-layered analysis of viewpoint which contributes to a deeper understanding of how language shapes readers' mental representation of narrative worlds and characters.

The model developed in Chapter 4 conceptualizes a news narrative as a network of mental spaces (Fauconnier, 1985) that are set up and linked to one another by linguistic expressions. It is assumed that these expressions guide readers through the various spaces, each with their own topology in terms of time, place and viewpoint. In essence, then, the model visualizes the various viewpoints with their particular times and locations that people mentally move through while processing news narratives (cf. Sweetser & Fauconnier, 1996). This approach to narrative discourse has shown to be capable of elucidating the relation between the form and function of news narratives in several respects.

First, the model presumes that information anchored in a given mental space forces readers to mentally represent that space. The inclusion of Narrative-Internal and Narrative-External Spaces in the model visualizes how readers are required to alternately interpret information from a position within versus outside the narrative. Specifically, each time a news source's voice sounds from a Narrative-External Space, readers are taken out of the narrative world and into the real world in which the interaction between journalist and news source takes place. Narrative-External Spaces thus establish a crucial link between the news reality and the narrative reconstruction of that reality. While there is no need for fictional narratives to establish such a link, there certainly is for nonfictional narratives; without it, readers could doubt the factuality of what is being reported.

And that, as shown in Chapter 2, is precisely why storytelling is feared to put journalism's credibility and authority at risk. The analyses in Chapters 4 and 5 have shown how journalists make strategic use of language – and of discourse reports in particular – to reduce these risks on the one hand while simultaneously securing the attractiveness of their narratives on the other.

A second, related contribution lies in the model's capability to quantify the distribution of narrative information over the various spaces. Spaces can be filled with more or less information or, alternatively, they can remain latent. Analyzing the distribution of information over spaces helps explain the pragmatics of news narratives as it charts the balance between their dramatizing and their legitimizing features. Moreover, diachronic developments in the pragmatics of a given genre can be easily recognized and clarified by means of changes in this distribution. Chapter 5, for instance, showed how a large part of news sources' reported discourse transferred over time from Narrative-Internal Spaces to Narrative-External Spaces. This means that the legitimizing potential of discourse reports came to dominate over their dramatizing potential. In a broader sense, this shows how the language of news narratives has changed over time in order to adhere to evolving professional standards of objectivity and truthfulness (see Broersma, 2007). The integration of cognitive linguistics and pragmatics thus offers a promising avenue for interdisciplinary approaches to the study of narrative discourse.

Finally, the model has shown to be a reliable tool for qualitative as well as quantitative, hypothesis-driven examinations of viewpoint in narrative discourse. As such it has the potential to broaden the scope of research on viewpoint in narrative, which up until now has been dominated by qualitative studies (e.g., Dancygier, 2005, 2012a; Copland, 2012). The model furthermore allows for contrastive analyses of narratives written in different languages (Chapter 4). Establishing cross-linguistic differences and similarities in viewpoint phenomena is climbing on the research agenda of cognitive linguists as it helps to further probe the complex relation

between language and cognition (Lu & Verhagen, 2016). The model can be of value to future studies in this direction by facilitating large-scale analyses of viewpoint phenomena within and across languages and genres.

7.2.2 Implications for Journalism and Discourse Studies

News narratives are well studied in the context of journalism studies. A large body of research in this field focuses on narratives as myths in which news actors are framed as archetypical figures (e.g., Barnett, 2005, 2006; Sternadori, 2014; Berkowitz, 2005, 2010; Nossek & Berkowitz, 2006; Lule, 2002). These studies typically approach news stories from a socio-cultural perspective, elaborating upon the potential of journalistic storytelling to form public narratives which help society to comprehend seemingly incomprehensible acts. At the level of individual texts, previous studies have examined which specific features of news narratives may contribute to the audience's understanding of news events as well as their personal involvement (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013a, 2013b; Berning, 2012). The materials used in these analytical studies consisted of prize-winning (e.g., Pulitzer) and nominated articles which may not be representative of journalistic articles in general, however.

The present thesis contributes to these studies by providing insight into the use and functions of narrative devices in more typical, everyday journalistic texts. The ubiquity of viewpoint techniques in these texts indicates that journalism is inherently narrative and that its functions thus may stretch beyond traditionally acknowledged ones, such as the watchdog function – journalism is like a burglar alarm that informs citizens about the power elite (e.g., Strömbäck, 2005) – and the entertainer function (e.g., McNair, 2009): journalism also provides readers with the opportunity to imagine unimaginable scenarios, gain experience with unknown situations, and empathize with strangers. In

this respect, news narratives can be argued to foster our social cognition through the unique simulations of social experience they offer (see Mar & Oatley, 2008). Positive effects of news narratives on readers' social cognition are not unlikely given the growing body of research demonstrating effects of reading fictional narratives on, for instance, empathic skills (e.g., Kidd & Castano, 2013; Djikic, Oatley, & Moldoveanu, 2013). There is some tentative evidence, however, that suggests differences in the type of mental processes that are activated during the reading of factual versus fictional narratives (Altmann, Bohrn, Lubrich, Menninghaus, & Jacobs, 2014). Such differences can be expected to become manifest in the type of skills that are being practiced. In order to gain more insight into the social function of narrative journalism, future research could address the question of whether and how news narratives differ from fictional narratives in terms of their impact on readers' empathic and social skills.

Regarding the specific functions of viewpoint techniques in news narratives, the results of Chapters 3 to 5 may be of limited generalizability since these studies focused on a specific type of news text (i.e., narrative reconstructions) about a specific topic (i.e., criminal acts). Previous studies have examined, for example, narrative profiles of elite persons (Berning, 2011) and news articles about man-made disasters (Pantti & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2011). An unanswered question is whether viewpoint techniques in such texts fulfill similar or perhaps different functions in comparison with crime news narratives. A working assumption would be that the exploitation of viewpoint techniques is similar for news articles about disasters and articles about crimes, since both cover unexpected events in which ordinary people were involved. Representing the viewpoints of these people may in both cases function as a means to enhance readers' imagination of events that are otherwise hard to imagine and to allow them to vicariously experience something that could have very well happened to them. By contrast, viewpoint techniques in celebrity profiles likely fulfill other functions given the dissimilarities between

the average reader and celebrities and the focus of these stories on a person rather than an event. Viewpoint representations in such texts may function to increase readers' understanding of the person being profiled or perhaps their *wishful identification*, i.e., their desire to be like this person (see Hoffner, 1996).

This dissertation ties in with recent trends in journalism studies towards more systematic research methods. Over the past years, several studies have conducted quantitative corpus analyses to examine developments in narrative news discourse. In a study on American front pages, Weldon (2008) found that the number of narrative articles had increased between 2001 and 2004. A study on Australian newspapers, by contrast, showed a decrease in the number of narratives published between 2007 and 2009 (Johnston & Graham, 2012). As discussed in Chapter 1, this difference in results can be explained by methodological differences between the two studies.

The present thesis contributes to these studies by providing a more fine-grained analysis of narrative news discourse. For instance, all of the abovementioned studies took the news text as the unit of analysis and distinguished between narratives on the one hand and non-narratives on the other. By using the sentence as the unit of analysis, the corpus analysis presented in Chapter 5 took into account the fact that news articles may vary in the quantity and types of viewpoint techniques used. This has resulted in a more nuanced view on narrative news discourse and diachronic changes therein. In addition, none of the abovementioned studies reported intercoder reliabilities, which makes it difficult to assess the reliability of the analyses. This dissertation demonstrates that it is possible to analyze viewpoint phenomena in news narratives in a reliable way: the intercoder reliabilities of the corpus analysis ranged from good to excellent for all variables. This allowed for the statistical testing of hypotheses, which was also absent in previous studies, and has thus resulted in more objective and generalizable results on diachronic changes in narrative news discourse.

Furthermore, whereas previous studies compared news articles at different (often nearly neighboring) points in time, this thesis examined the continuous development of narrative news discourse over a period of 150 years. As such, it provides more insight into the actual process of changing discourse pragmatics. It appeared that the dominant function of reported discourse in news narratives has shifted gradually over time from dramatization to legitimization, presumably under pressure of the objectivity norm which spread across Europe in the twentieth century (Broersma, 2007). In broader terms, this research provides evidence for the presumption that the functions of reported discourse not only vary across genres (Waugh, 1995), but also develop over time within a given genre. This finding may be of value to genre studies, which could examine such developments in alternative (news) genres with the goal to explain changing discourse pragmatics in a broad sociocultural historical context.

The results of the diachronic corpus analysis furthermore replicate and extend Vis et al.'s (2012) finding that the use of the direct mode in Dutch journalistic texts has increased significantly over time. Because Vis et al. (2012) did not include other reporting modes in their analysis, it was unclear whether this finding reflected either an overall increase in reported discourse or whether it indicated an increasing preference for verbatim discourse reports in the direct mode over paraphrasing discourse reports in indirect modes. By examining developments in both direct and indirect discourse, the present thesis was able to show that – at least in the subgenre of news narratives on criminal incidents – the latter was the case: the increase in direct discourse came at the expense of a decrease in indirect discourse. It also provides more insight into this development. Whereas Vis et al. (2012) compared news texts at two points in time (1950/1951 and 2002), the present thesis examined the use and forms of reported discourse over a longer period of time and took measurements at many more points in time, resulting in a larger as well as more fine-grained overview. It appeared that the increase in direct discourse showed a linear development, which rules out the

possibility that the difference in direct quotations between 1950/1951 and 2002 merely reflects a difference in stylistic preferences between those years. Over time, journalists show a gradually increasing preference to quote news sources verbatim, which might indicate a growing urge to increase the attractiveness of their writings. A complementary explanation for journalists' increasing preference for direct quotations lies in an increasing desire to fully disentangle their own responsibility from that of news sources and hence to emphasize their neutrality (cf. Ekström, 2006).

A remaining question is whether journalism has narrativized over time, as is often suggested (Kramer, 2000; Hartsock, 2007). Results of previous studies are inconsistent (Weldon, 2008; Johnston & Graham, 2012) and the historical corpus analysis presented in Chapter 5 does not provide an answer to this question either because it only examined developments *within* the genre of news narratives. The corpus analysis did reveal that in this genre, the relative amount of dramatizing (versus legitimizing) discourse reports has decreased significantly over time. In this respect, news narratives have thus become less narrative. Future research could analyze discourse reports and other viewpoint techniques in a historical sample of *all* newspaper genres. Taking viewpoint as an indicator of narrativity, such an enterprise would provide insight into developments in journalism's overall degree of narrativity.

Finally, this dissertation sheds some new light on narrative journalism as a genre. As discussed in Chapter 1, previous studies have suggested a wide variety of definitions of news narratives (e.g., Vanoost, 2013; Kramer, 1995). A commonality between these definitions is their reliance on the premises that news narratives are similar to fictional narratives in terms of their stylistic features but differ from fictional narratives in terms of their strictly factual content. In other words, these definitions assume that narrative news discourse can only be distinguished from fictional discourse by means of content and not by means of form. The present thesis indicates that there are,

in fact, notable stylistic differences between news narratives and fictional narratives, as I will specify below.

For instance, results of the diachronic corpus analysis (Chapter 5) showed that thought reports and free indirect discourse are rarely used in news narratives. These results are in line with Semino and Short (2004), who found that only 5% of the discourse reports in British news articles are thought reports and that free indirect discourse reports occur less frequently in news articles compared to fictional texts.

Table 7.2 compares the relative occurrences of the various reporting modes in news narratives to their relative occurrences in Semino and Short's (2004) corpus of fictional texts and their corpus of news texts. This table shows that in news narratives, the direct mode is relatively less often used compared to fictional texts but more often compared to news articles. Conversely, the indirect mode is in news narratives relatively less often used compared to news articles but more often compared to fictional texts. With respect to direct and indirect discourse, news narratives thus seem to mix the stylistics of journalism and fiction.

Table 7.2: Comparison between the Relative Occurrences of Direct, Indirect Free Indirect, and Distancing Indirect Discourse Reports in the Corpus Analysis Presented in Chapter 5 and Semino and Short's (2004) Corpus Analysis of Fictional Discourse and News Discourse

	Chapter 5 News narratives	**Semino & Short (2004) Fiction**	**Semino & Short (2004) News articles**
Direct	61.2%	76.6%	51.4%
Indirect	32.4%	10.0%	46.0%
Free Indirect	3.1%	13.4%	2.6%
Distancing Indirect	3.3%	-	-
Total	*100%*	*100%*	*100%*

Note: The percentages of the reporting modes in Semino and Short (2004) are calculated based on the frequencies in the tables on pages 67, 99, and 115. The Distancing Indirect mode was not distinguished as a separate category by Semino and Short (2004).

Perhaps most interesting is the use of the free indirect mode across the three genres: this reporting mode is relatively much more frequently used in fictional texts than in news narratives and news articles. This literary technique is thus more typical for fictional than for journalistic discourse, and in this formal respect, news narratives bear more resemblance to news articles than to fictional narratives. This is noteworthy because it suggests that there are constraints on narrative journalism's degree of literariness; truly fictionalizing techniques, such as reporting thoughts of news sources in a direct or free indirect mode, do not appear to harmonize well with journalistic conventions (cf. Sanders & Redeker, 1993).

The comparison between the three genres in Table 7.2 should of course be interpreted with some caution since the use of the various reporting modes may reflect language-specific conventions. It nevertheless permits some general reflections on the genre of narrative journalism. The studies presented in this dissertation underscore the common observation that it is, indeed, a hybrid genre. But the hybridity does not merely reside in the combination of factual content and fictional form, as is often suggested (e.g., Kramer, 1995; Vanoost, 2013). Instead, the content may be somewhat fictional (cf. Chapter 2) and the form may be more alike straight factual news reporting rather than fictional novels (cf. Table 7.2). This suggests that on a continuum with non-narrative news reports at the one end and narrative nonfiction books at the other end, narrative journalism may cover several parts of the continuum.

For instance, journalistic narratives in magazines and newspaper supplements are typically products of months or even years of investigation and writing. Such stories have been classified as a form of Slow Journalism, a popular contemporary movement in which the absence of tight deadlines allows for an emphasis on in-depth research and quality storytelling (Le Masurier, 2014). As a result of this focus on style, narratives in magazines and newspaper supplements can be expected to feature more and more sophisticated storytelling techniques than newspaper narratives crafted in a couple

of hours or days. Similarly, the genre of narrative journalism is – particularly in an American context – often considered to include voluminous reconstructions of historic events or periods which read like literary fiction. These works are characterized by symbolism and an immersive reporting style, among other techniques (N. Sims, 2012). Such techniques strongly reflect the journalist's personal involvement and interpretation of events and are therefore less likely to be found in the type of newspaper narratives studied in this thesis. In this respect, the broad spectrum of journalistic narratives may be characterized by varying degrees of the journalist's visibility and subjectivity (Hartsock, 1998). In addition, nonfictional historical narratives are less likely to feature narrative-external quotations since witnesses to the reconstructed events may no longer be alive. Authors of such narratives might use alternative strategies to legitimize their reconstructions of reality, or perhaps rely more on impersonal rather than personal sources to do so. Comparative studies of the diverse appearances of narrative journalism could contribute to a clearer understanding of the roles they fulfill in the contemporary media landscape.

7.2.3 Implications for Communication Studies

Over the past two decades, the study of narratives has received an unprecedented amount of attention in communication research. A large part of the research on narratives is concerned with their impact on readers' engagement and how this engagement may in turn influence their beliefs, opinions, and even their behavior (e.g., Igartua & Barrios, 2012; Murphy et al., 2013). Relatively few studies have focused on the effects of narratives in the context of journalism, although some studies have shown that the labeling of a narrative as a fictional narrative or a news narrative does not influence readers' engagement with the story (Green & Brock, 2000; Appel & Malečkar,

2012). Other studies compared news narratives with non-narrative news articles and found that news narratives are more engaging (Shen et al., 2014; Oliver et al., 2012). Results of Chapter 6 are in line with these findings and demonstrate that crime news narratives are more engaging than non-narrative crime reports in the sense that they enable readers to virtually experience criminal events from up close, as mediated witnesses.

The experiment reported upon in Chapter 6 makes two important contributions to previous studies on the impact of news narratives. First, it examined the impact of an original news narrative, thus securing the external validity of the obtained results. As such, it provides valid evidence for the engaging effects of news narratives that people read in their daily lives. Second, whereas previous studies used Green and Brock's (2000) unidimensional Transportation Scale, the present thesis measured the impact of news narratives on several dimensions of narrative engagement (Busselle & Bilandzic, 2009). The relevance of this approach is demonstrated by the results of the factor analysis, which revealed five distinct dimensions of engagement. Moreover, the experimental results showed that the narrative was more engaging than the non-narrative report, but not for all five dimensions. This emphasizes the need to distinguish between more cognitive dimensions of narrative engagement (e.g., the sense of "being present" in the narrative world and the focus on the narrative) and more affective dimensions (e.g., emotions and empathy with characters) in order to fully understand the impact of narratives and how and why this impact might differ between different types of narratives.

Although the present thesis focused on news narratives, its findings may inform research on narratives in general. For example, surprisingly little is known about which features of narratives are responsible for their engaging and persuasive impact (Green, 2008). With respect to the use of perspective, several studies have shown that first person and second person narrations are more powerful than third person narrations (e.g., Brunyé et al., 2009; Brunyé et al., 2011; see

also De Graaf, Sanders, & Hoeken, 2016 for a review of effects of grammatical person in health narratives). The studies presented in this dissertation show that within third person narrations, different types of viewpoint techniques may co-occur and stretches of internally perspectivized narration may alternate with stretches of externally perspectivized narration. This warrants the need to enlarge the scope of experimental research on the effects of viewpoint techniques in narratives.

This need is underscored by widespread views on the power of viewpoint techniques. Sasaki (1994: 127), for instance, argues that viewpoint is "certainly one of the most important aspects of the fictional narration, in terms of its control over the reader's responses." These responses include the reader's identification with, sympathy for, and understanding of narrative characters. The occurrence and strength of such responses are often hypothesized to be dependent upon the type of viewpoint techniques used (e.g., Leech & Short, 2007: 221; Farner, 2014: 256-257). Empirical research testing these contentions is scarce, however, and results are inconsistent (e.g., Van Peer & Pander Maat, 1996, 2001; Hakemulder & Koopman, 2010). It may therefore be worthwhile to examine viewpoint phenomena in more detail in narratives that have been used in previous studies on narrative engagement and persuasion. Linking these phenomena to reported effects on identification and related constructs would provide more insight into the relation between viewpoint representation and readers' engagement. In addition, these phenomena should be manipulated in experimental studies as to provide a direct test of their impact on readers' engagement. Research in this direction can be guided by the inventory of viewpoint indicators provided in the present thesis.

7.3 Directions for Future Research

A first direction for future research lies in the domain of readers' evaluation and understanding of news narratives. From the interviews presented in Chapter 2, it became clear that journalists' attitude towards narrative techniques is somewhat ambivalent: they are essential to attract readers but they are also dangerous because they might lure readers into thinking – justly or unjustly – that the facts have been tinkered with. In the eyes of practitioners, this may ultimately have serious negative consequences for journalism's credibility and authority. At the same time, they argue that readers should be mature and wise enough to understand that contemporary journalistic productions, especially hybrid genres such as news narratives, are often a mixture of fact and fiction. Such considerations call for empirical investigations of readers' evaluation and understanding of news narratives. Chapter 6 showed that readers considered the news narrative to be highly atypical for a newspaper article. Similarly, Sanders and Redeker (1993) showed that readers consider the use of viewpoint techniques in news reports lively but, again, atypical. Future studies could determine whether these perceptions of typicality relate to perceptions of credibility and plausibility, thereby assessing the true dangers of narrative journalism.

A related opportunity for future research lies in an assessment of readers' processing of narratives which embed the viewpoint of a character by means of verbs of cognition and perception. As argued throughout this thesis, the embedding of such implicit viewpoints requires readers to interpret the narrative events from the character's psychological and perceptual viewpoint. An unanswered question is how long implicit viewpoints are continued. With discourse reports, in particular in the direct and indirect mode, it is relatively easy to determine when we move in and out of a character's mental space, i.e., when the narration starts from a particular viewpoint and then continues from a different viewpoint. In case of an implicit viewpoint, however, it can be difficult, if not impossible to determine how long

the narration continues from the character's viewpoint. Consider for example the following excerpt, taken from a news narrative which was part of the corpus presented in Chapter 5.

Excerpt 7.1

(1) Perneel sees rioters walking to the police officers. (2) An officer fires a shot into the air and a few seconds later another one. (3) Then the cops run at high speed towards the VIP stage, on the left front of the field. (4) They lift a fence from the concrete block and disappear. (5) A group of guys jumps up the fences. (6) They demolish the VIP stage. (7) Van Montfoort says he then hears another "two or three shots".

(NRC Handelsblad 2009, August 25)

In (1), the perceptive verb *sees* signals the implicit viewpoint of eyewitness Perneel. As Sanders (1994: 189) argues, "implicit perspectives are by default continued unless it is signaled that they are interrupted." In excerpt 7.1, this interruption takes place in (7) by means of the indirect discourse report which embeds the viewpoint of a different eyewitness, referred to as Van Montfoort. The question is whether the intermediate sentences are indeed narrated from Perneel's implicit viewpoint, or whether the viewpoint shifts to the narrator before it shifts to Van Montfoort. The absence of clear viewpoint phenomena in sentences (2) to (6) precludes a univocal analysis. Given this ambiguity, it would be interesting to examine how long readers interpret events from a character's perspective after an implicit viewpoint is established and which linguistic features might cause them to move away from this perspective. Questions of when and why readers move out of a character's mental space have not been given the same amount of attention as questions of when and why they move into a character's mental space, although they are of equal importance

in order to gain a comprehensive view on the processing of narrative discourse.

Future research in this direction could furthermore work towards a clearer understanding of the degree to which implicit viewpoints blend the viewpoints of narrator, character, and reader. Implicit viewpoints constitute a broad category of viewpoint representation which, next to verbs of perception and cognition, includes verbs of modality, emotion, and evaluation, as well as opinion indicators (Sanders, 2010). The diversity of the various types of implicit viewpoints makes it reasonable to assume differences in the type of blend they establish. For example, verbs of visual perception are likely to establish a full or near to full viewpoint blend because their use implies that the narrator describes and the reader observes the narrative events through the eyes of the character. By contrast, opinion indicators (e.g., *according to*) are likely to establish only a partial blend as they do not require narrator and reader to align their spatial viewpoints with the character's spatial viewpoint. Future experimental studies could determine whether the extent to which readers blend their viewpoints with a character's viewpoint is indeed dependent upon the type of implicit viewpoint. The need for such studies is underscored by the results of Chapter 5, which showed that implicit viewpoints account for almost half of all viewpoint representations in news narratives. As such, they play a significant role in guiding readers through narrative worlds.

Finally, future research could further tighten the connection between analytical and experimental research on narratives. In analyzing the language of news narratives and hypothesizing about and testing readers' processing of these narratives, this thesis drew largely upon literature in the fields of cognitive linguistics and communication studies. The cognitive linguistic theory of mental spaces (Fauconnier, 1985) offered a valuable framework for the analysis of news narratives: it elegantly accounts for the multitude of viewpoints involved in narrative discourse and enables the formulation of hypotheses about the cognitive processing of such

discourse. Research in the field of communication studies, and in particular theoretical and empirical research on narrative engagement (e.g., Busselle & Bilandzic, 2009), provided a meaningful context in which to situate and test these hypotheses. Although this interdisciplinary approach has produced a profound view on the form and function of news narratives, it has also left room for questions about the exact nature of the relation between the language of news narratives and their cognitive and affective effects. The final section of this chapter addresses these questions as well as possibilities for future studies to provide answers.

7.4 Assessing the Dynamics of Narrative Engagement

The embedding and blending of mental spaces in narrative news discourse is a dynamic process which entails a continuous negotiation of the viewpoints of journalist, news source, and reader. This means that we can expect readers to take on various positions during narrative processing. Throughout this thesis it has been argued that various viewpoint representation techniques should facilitate readers' experience of becoming a mediated witness to shocking news events. It has also been argued that the strength and nature of this experience is dependent upon the specific techniques used. Chapter 4, for instance, proposed that viewpoint blending techniques such as present tense narration of cognition and perception should elicit a stronger mediated witness experience than viewpoint embedding techniques. Similarly, Chapter 3 concluded with the expectation that choice of grammatical subject would primarily affect readers' identification with eyewitnesses to news events, whereas the use of pronouns would primarily affect their sense of being present at those events.

The assumption of such a direct link between a narrative's linguistic features on the one hand and the reader's experience on the other suggests that narrative engagement is a highly dynamic process

in terms of strength and duration. The dynamics of narrative engagement will be further illustrated with an analysis of the following excerpt of a Dutch news narrative which was part of the materials in Chapters 3, 4, and 6.

Excerpt 7.2

(1) The indoor shopping mall is crowded. Van der V. calmly passes the Kruidvat, the Zeeman, the Hubo. Shooting. Glass flies around. People fall, run away, duck away. He walks on.

(2) An older man escapes in front of him and ducks into the Hubo. He was just with his granddaughter, but he has now lost her. Quickly he gets up again. (3) He sees a man and a woman lying on the ground, bathed in blood. He sees fear, panic. […]

(4) In the C1000 stockroom, on the second floor, Lennart Schellinghout is working. (5) He hears cracks. (6) "At first I thought something fell on the floor." (7) He goes downstairs and realizes they're gunshots.

(NRC Handelsblad 2009, April 11)

This fragment sets up various spaces, which are visualized in Figure 7.1 below. The dashed arrows mark the route of spaces through which readers move while processing this fragment of the narrative. The route is guided by linguistic space builders and viewpoint indicators which have been identified and described in Chapters 3 and 4. In the first episode of this fragment, the reader is taken inside the shopping mall (1). The absence of clear viewpoint phenomena in these

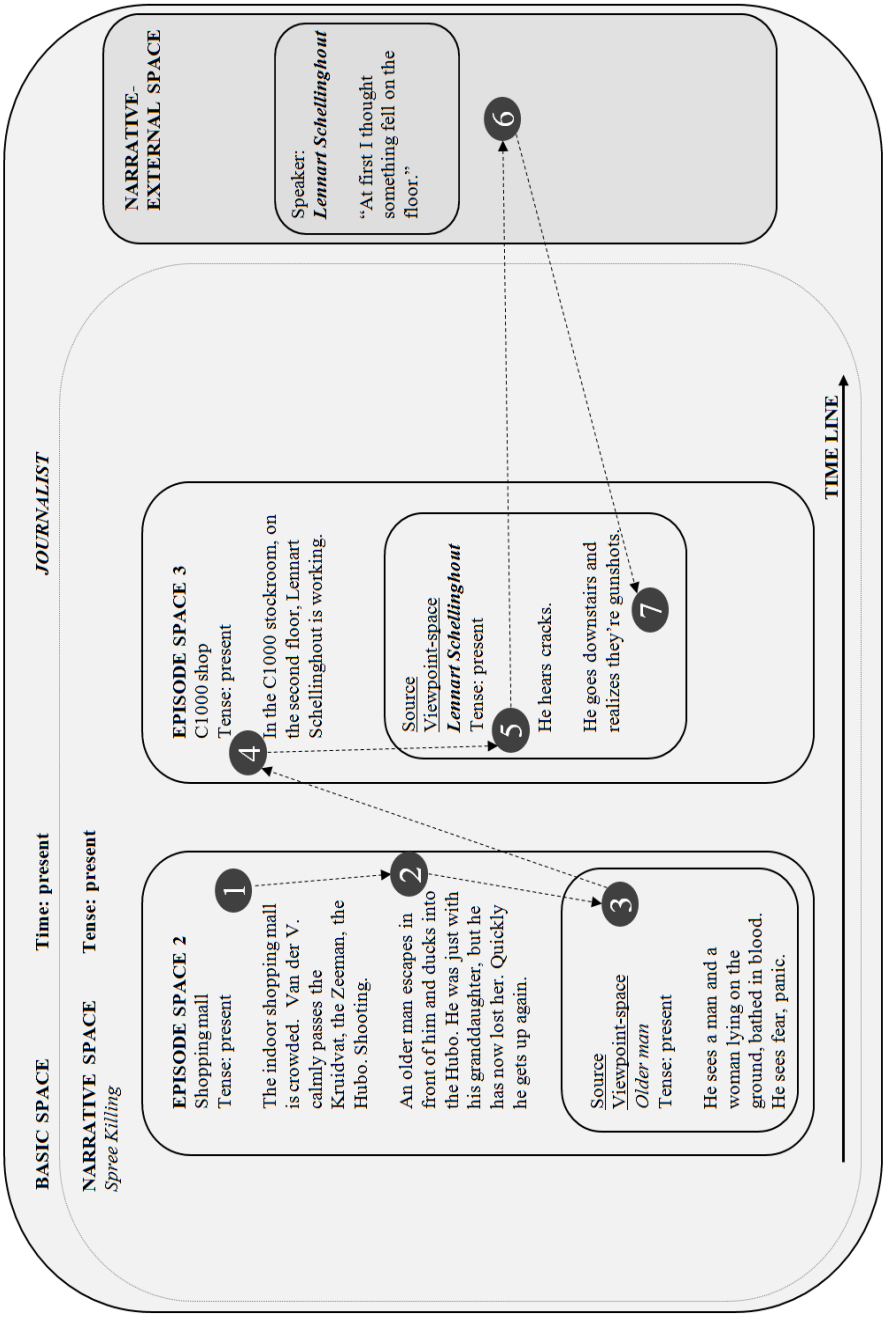

Figure 7.1: **Route of Spaces Readers Move through while Processing the *NRC Handelsblad* narrative**

first sentences[29] puts the reader in the position of an unobserved observer who hovers along the shops (Oatley, 1999). At this point, and in large part as an effect of the present tense narration, the reader should experience a sense of being present at the events.

Then, the reader is expected to align his viewpoint with the viewpoint of the eyewitness introduced in (2). As argued in Chapter 3, the repeated appearance of this eyewitness in subject position in combination with the repeated pronominal references locates the camera over this man's shoulder, thus inviting the reader to observe the events from his viewpoint. At this point, the reader should experience a degree of identification with this eyewitness. This identification is expected to intensify in (3), where the use of present tense verbs of perception blends the viewpoints of reader and eyewitness. The reader's experience of being a mediated witness should accordingly hit a peak at this point. The viewpoint blend is terminated in (4) when the location marker *In the C1000 stockroom* opens up a new Episode Space. The reader is by now expected to no longer identify with the older man and to resume his position of unobserved observer.

In (5), the present tense verb of perception *hears* blends the viewpoints of the reader and the newly introduced eyewitness Lennart. At this point, we would thus expect the reader to identify with Lennart. This experience should be rather short-lived due to the subsequent quotation (6), which is anchored in a Narrative-External Space. As argued in Chapter 5, such quotations force the reader to mentally represent and access that external space. At this point, the reader's sense of being present inside the shopping mall as well as his identification with Lennart should decrease. Both experiences should increase quickly again, however, because of the viewpoint blend established in (7) by means of the present tense verb of cognition *realizes*.

[29] The adverb *calmly* does not signal an implicit viewpoint in this excerpt because it merely modifies the manner of the perpetrator's walking, which is noticeable from the outside.

This example shows that the processing of even a relatively short stretch of narrative discourse requires readers to take on various positions, i.e., to alternately align their viewpoint closer to and further away from the narrative's events and characters. In assessing the effects of news narratives on reader's experience of being a mediated witness to shocking news events, Chapter 6 relied on commonly used off-line, self-report measures of narrative engagement. Although the results obtained in that study do provide support for the occurrence of a mediated witness experience, they are, unfortunately, incapable of illuminating the on-line, dynamic nature of this experience as it is depicted above.

Readers may of course be very well able to indicate in hindsight what they felt and experienced during the processing of a narrative, but these indications approximate at best an average level of engagement. For example, the results of the experiment presented in Chapter 6 indicate that narrative-external quotations do not necessarily interrupt readers' engagement with a news narrative: the mean scores on four of the five identified dimensions of narrative engagement were above the neutral midpoint of the scale. Nevertheless, as discussed above, such quotations are expected to *temporarily* interrupt engagement. Such temporary interruptions likely affect readers' overall engagement. One possibility to examine this expectation would be to compare readers' self-reported engagement with news narratives with and news narratives without narrative-external quotations.

Another, perhaps more elegant possibility would be to use alternative, on-line measures of readers' engagement with narratives. Such a pursuit can be guided by research in cognitive linguistics showing that language processing invokes strong mental simulations. This area of research builds on perceptual symbolic approaches which assume that meaning is embodied, i.e., grounded in actions and perceptions (e.g., Barsalou, 1999, 2008). These approaches hold that the mental representation of a given referent (a table) encapsulates all of our past sensory and motor experiences with that referent (e.g.,

what a table looks like, putting plates on a table). An important hypothesis derived from perceptual symbolic approaches is that the mere perception of – and reading about – objects and actions activates these past experiences, resulting in a mental simulation of these objects and actions in the perceiver.

Behavioral and neuroimaging studies have provided converging evidence that language comprehension does indeed involve (and possibly require) activation of both perceptual and motor systems (see Fischer & Zwaan, 2008 for an overview). Correspondingly, the activity of reading narratives is highly experiential in nature as it prompts simulation processes through which readers become "immersed experiencers" (cf. Zwaan, 2004). Some of the documented simulation processes correspond quite naturally to various dimensions of narrative engagement, and in particular to the dimension of identification. In its most ultimate form, identification is a process in which the reader imagines *being* the character, i.e., the reader imaginatively sees and hears the narrative events through the character's eyes and ears and performs the character's actions (see Cohen, 2001). In this conceptualization, identification entails the mental simulation of a character's perceptions and actions. Both types of mental simulation processes will be discussed below.

Perceptual simulation has been the subject of several studies on language processing. Yaxley and Zwaan (2007), for instance, manipulated the visibility of objects as seen by a third person character by presenting participants with sentences like "Through the fogged goggles, the skier could hardly identify the moose" versus "Through the clean goggles, the skier could easily identify the moose". In the first sentence, the character's vision of the moose is unclear, whereas in the second, the character's vision of the moose is clear. Results showed that participants were faster to recognize a clear (versus unclear) picture of a moose after reading the sentence "Through the clean goggles, the skier could easily identify the moose", and they were likewise faster to recognize an unclear (versus

clear) picture of a moose after reading the sentence "Through the fogged goggles, the skier could hardly identify the moose". From these results, Yaxley and Zwaan (2007: 234) conclude that "language processing invokes experiential traces in a mental simulation of described events." These traces are not restricted to visual simulation but extend to auditory simulation as well in the sense that readers mentally simulate hearing the sounds they read about (Kaschak, Zwaan, Aveyard, & Yaxley, 2006). The studies by Yaxley and Zwaan (2007) and Kaschak et al. (2006) thus indicate that descriptions of a character's perceptions cause readers to mentally simulate those perceptions; they see and hear what the character sees and hears.

Next to perceptual simulations, identification with a narrative character can be thought of as involving mental simulations of that character's actions. Guided by the discovery of a *mirror-neuron system* in humans, many studies have demonstrated that when we observe or imagine a particular action, the same parts of our brain are activated that are also activated when we perform that action (see, e.g., Aziz-Zadeh, Wilson, Rizzolatti, & Iacoboni, 2006; Rizzolatti, 2005; Rizzolatti & Craighero, 2004). In other words, we mentally simulate performing the action without physically executing it. This process not only occurs when we observe actions, but also when we passively read about actions.

In a series of experiments, Glenberg and Kaschak (2002) showed that reading sentences that imply actions in a particular direction interferes with performing actions in an opposite direction. Participants read sentences that implied a movement either towards their body (e.g., "Open the drawer") or away from their body (e.g., "Close the drawer"). They had to decide as quickly as possible whether a sentence made sense or not by moving a button either towards or away from their body. Results showed that if a sentence implied a movement towards the body, participants were faster to make a judgment if they had to move the button towards (versus away from) their body. Likewise, if a sentence implied a movement away from the body, participants were faster to make a judgment if they had

to move the button away from (versus towards) their body. These results indicate that linguistic descriptions of actions generate mental simulations of those actions in readers and are consistent with the theory that language processing and comprehension are grounded in bodily action (Barsalou, 1999, 2008).

The link between reading action verbs and simulating those actions has also been found in neuroimaging studies (e.g., Hauk, Johnsrude, & Pulvermüller, 2004). One fMRI study showed that action simulation only occurs when people read action verbs in literal sentences ("After six minutes, the new recruit kicked the ball"), not when they read action verbs that are part of idiomatic sentences ("After six months, the old man kicked the bucket") (Raposo, Moss, Stamatakis, & Tyler, 2009). Reading an action verb does not, in other words, automatically result in a mental simulation of that action. Rather, readers only simulate those actions that are actually performed by characters.

Although the studies discussed above mainly used isolated words, sentences, or small stretches of discourse, there is no reason to assume that the reported perception and action simulation effects would not occur while reading larger discourse entities such as narratives (see also Speer, Reynolds, Swallow, & Zacks, 2009). In the context of crime news narratives, this means that readers can be expected to simulate the perceptions and actions of witnesses to the acts. When reading excerpt 7.2, for example, they likely visually simulate the older man's sight of a dead man and woman as well as his actions of escaping, ducking down, and getting up again. Measuring these simulations could provide more insight into the on-line, dynamic process of readers' identification with narrative characters.

Future research in this direction could manipulate, for example, the presence (versus absence) of action verbs or the type of action performed by a character (e.g., crawling versus running) in order to assess readers' simulations of that character's actions. Similarly, the presence (versus absence) of verbs of perception could

be manipulated to assess readers' simulations of a character's perceptions. In addition, the character's perceptions could be manipulated in terms of distance (e.g., a character can perceive an object from up close or from a distance) or visibility (e.g., a character can perceive an object clearly or unclearly; cf. Yaxley and Zwaan, 2007). Measuring the effects of such manipulations on readers' simulations of a character's perceptions and actions would reveal more about the nature of the connection between characters and readers that is established during narrative processing.

In a broader sense, studies in this direction could further illuminate the intricate relation between language, narrative, and cognition. Questions of how readers form a mental image of a story world, project themselves into that world, and empathize and identify with its characters have fascinated researchers from various disciplines for many decades (e.g., Nell, 1988; Gerrig, 1993; Herman, 2009; Oatley, 2011). Only in recent years have the techniques become available to empirically examine the neurocognitive correlates of such processes. Advancements in this emerging field of research require a thorough understanding of the mental simulations involved in language comprehension as well as a thorough understanding of narratives in terms of their stylistic features (Willems & Jacobs, 2016). Invaluable in this respect are cognitive approaches to the language of narratives, as I hope to have illustrated with the above discussion on mental simulations and the various studies of this dissertation. It is, after all, in language and mind that narrative worlds and characters are created.

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De Telegraaf 2008, July 24, p.9. "Moordpaar belooft elkaar eeuwige trouw in gevang. Vader met capuchon en kussen gewurgd." [Murder couple promises each other faithfulness in jail. Father strangled with hood and pillow.]

De Volkskrant 2011, April 11, p.1. "Alphen rouwt na bloedbad." [Alphen grieves after massacre.]

Limburgsch Dagblad 1992, April 17, p.21. " 'Lesje leren' komt duo duur te staan. Officier eist twee jaar voor poging tot moord." ['Teaching a lesson' costs duo dearly. Officer demands two years for attempted murder.]

Nieuwsblad van het Noorden 1896, February 23, p.2. "Een ontrouwe echtgenoote vermoord." [An unfaithful wife murdered.]

NRC Handelsblad 2009, April 30, p.03. "Een groot aantal gewonden en onwezenlijke rust; Automobilist die bij viering Koninginnedag in Apeldoorn met zijn auto door haag toeschouwers en dranghekken reed geef gas." [Large number of wounded and unreal serenity; Driver who drove with his car through hedge of spectators during celebration Queen's Day accellerated.]

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The Associated Press 2012, December 15. "Gunman kills 26 at Conn. school, commits suicide."

The New York Post 2007, April 17, p.8. "Out of the horror emerges a hero – kid helped stop rampage."

The New York Post 2012, December 16, p.10. "Sandy Hook Elementary School nurse's brush with death."

The Washington Post 2007, April 19, p.A01. "That was the desk I chose to die under."

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Summary in English

This thesis is about news narratives. News narratives are a hybrid genre in the sense that these stories combine characteristics of journalistic discourse and fictional discourse. The first aim of this thesis is to gain insight into the relation between the linguistic form of these stories and their functions. Central questions are: Which narrative techniques are employed in news narratives? What are the linguistic manifestations of these techniques? And what is the function of these techniques? The second aim of this thesis is to examine the effects of news narratives on the audience. The central question is: To what extent do news narratives enable readers to virtually experience the described events from up close, as *mediated witnesses*?

Chapter 1

Chapter 1 provides an introduction to the genre of narrative journalism. This chapter defines a news narrative as a reconstruction of a news event written from the viewpoint of one or more persons involved in the event. Following this definition, news narratives can be distinguished from non-narrative news reports by their use of viewpoint techniques which represent the perceptions and thoughts of news sources. News narratives can furthermore be distinguished from fictional narratives as the former reconstruct events that have occurred in reality, whereas the latter are autonomous artifacts independent from reality which may therefore construct imaginary events.

Chapter 1 then zooms in to news narratives about criminal events. In previous research, it has been argued that these crime narratives fulfill a specific function: they allow readers to become mediated witnesses to the crime, which implies that they identify with eyewitnesses to the crime and virtually observe the crime from up

close. The occurrence of this phenomenological experience requires readers to adopt the viewpoint of eyewitnesses. This thesis therefore examines the use of viewpoint techniques in crime news narratives, with the ultimate goal to illuminate the relation between the form and function of these stories. In doing so, it relies on cognitive linguistic conceptions of viewpoint in language.

Chapter 1 furthermore discusses research on historical developments in narrative news discourse. Several studies have addressed the question whether the proportion of news narratives in print journalism has increased over time. A recurring problem in these studies is the operationalization of news narratives, which has often been vague and did not make a clear distinction between news narratives and non-narrative news articles. I therefore suggest an alternative approach which does not examine developments in the ratio between narrative and non-narrative articles, but developments in the use of viewpoint techniques *within* the genre of news narratives.

The final section of Chapter 1 discusses experimental research on the impact of news narratives. The starting point of this discussion is the *Transportation-Imagery Model* (Green & Brock, 2002). This model proposes that transportation – the feeling people experience when they are absorbed into a story and become part of the narrative world – can explain for the persuasive power of stories. The scale Green and Brock (2000) developed to measure transportation has been used extensively in previous research, including studies on the effects of news narratives. These studies have shown that readers of news narratives become more transported than readers of non-narrative news articles.

A disadvantage of the Transportation Scale is that it is unidimensional, whereas readers' engagement with narratives is generally being conceptualized as a multidimensional experience. In the context of crime news narratives, this experience has been described as the readers' sense of being mediated witnesses to the crime (Peelo, 2006). This experience consists of two dimensions: the readers' sense of being present at the events and their identification

with eyewitnesses who play a part in the narrative. In order to measure to what extent this experience occurs when reading crime news narratives, the use of an alternative scale is proposed: the *narrative engagement* scale (Busselle & Bilandzic, 2009). This scale distinguishes between the dimension of *narrative presence* (an experience in which the reader is virtually present in the story world) and the dimension of *emotional engagement* (an experience in which readers become emotionally involved with the story and its characters), among others. These two dimensions correspond to the dimensions of being a mediated witness to a criminal act. The narrative engagement scale thus allows for a concise measurement of the occurrence of this experience.

Chapter 2

Chapter 2 reports upon a study in which interviews were held with narrative journalists and lecturers in journalism programs. Although narrative journalism has always existed in the Netherlands, it is in recent years being promoted as a "new" genre. Several initiatives have been developed to promote the use of narrative techniques among journalists. The aim of this chapter is to examine why narrative journalism is seen as "new" and which motives underlie the current promotion of the genre.

A two-part study is conducted to answer this question. The first part examines how narrative journalism is framed in *public expressions* about the genre, i.e., in educational text books about (narrative) journalism and in publications of the *Initiative Narrative Journalism Netherlands.* Results of the analysis show that narrative journalism is discussed in three frames. Narrative journalism is framed as (1) *Moving*; (2) *Essential* to revitalize newspapers and attract and maintain readers; and (3) *High Quality* journalism.

The second part examines how narrative journalism is framed in the *personal talk* of people who are actively involved in promotion of the genre: narrative journalists, founders and board members of the *Initiative Narrative Journalism Netherlands*, and lecturers in journalism programs. Analysis of the interview data reveals that narrative journalism is discussed in three frames. First, narrative journalism is framed as (1) a *Dangerous Game*: using literary techniques can tempt journalists to tamper with the truth for the sake of aesthetics. This may ultimately put journalism's authority and credibility at stake. In the second frame, narrative journalism is seen as (2) a *Paradigm Shift*: the traditional norm of objectivity is abandoned with the argument that there is no such thing as objectivity. In this new paradigm, readers are expected to be capable of assessing whether something is true or not. Third, narrative journalism is framed as (3) *The Holy Grail*: good journalistic stories are the highest aim conceivable for journalists.

Chapter 2 shows that professionals have a somewhat ambivalent attitude towards the use of narrative techniques in journalism: such techniques are necessary to attract and move readers, especially in this time of decreasing newspaper circulations, but they are also dangerous because they tend to blur the line between fact and fiction. Viewpoint techniques are considered important techniques and are even seen as the "castor oil" of news narratives. But such techniques are at the same time fictionalizing techniques. Examining viewpoint techniques in news narratives can provide insight into how these narratives reconstruct news events in a dramatic way without crossing the boundaries of nonfiction.

Chapter 3

Chapters 3 and 4 address the question as to how crime news narratives reconstruct events from the viewpoints of people involved. To answer

this question, these chapters build on cognitive linguistic theories about viewpoint in language. A central assumption in cognitive linguistics is that the way information is packed in language will guide how the receiver mentally represents that information. A cognitive linguistic approach to news narratives helps to scrutinize the linguistic manifestation of viewpoint as well as to describe how readers represent perspectivization and form a mental representation of the story world.

Chapter 3 focuses on two linguistic indicators of viewpoint: choice of grammatical subject of a clause and choice of referential expression. Choice of grammatical subject indicates the position from which a scene is described: the viewpoint, comparable to the camera position in movies, is virtually located with the character in subject position. Choice of referential expression also contributes to the representation of viewpoint: a noun phrase referring to a news character (*the man, Mister Jacobs*) creates distance towards that character, inviting readers to view this character from a certain distance, whereas a pronoun used to refer to the same character (*he*) will reduce this distance, aligning readers with the character and inviting them to experience the events from that character's viewpoint.

In an analysis of grammar and reference, a comparison is made between American and Dutch news narratives on the one hand and non-narrative news reports on the other. Results show that in the news narratives, eyewitnesses to the news events take the subject position more often than non-eyewitnesses (perpetrators, authorities, victims, etc.). This means that the "camera lens" is aligned with the viewpoints of eyewitnesses and that the events are thus described from their position. In addition, eyewitnesses are in news narratives more often referred to with pronouns than nouns, whereas non-eyewitnesses are more often referred to with nouns than pronouns. This means that the eyewitnesses are conceptually proximate and that readers are invited to experience the events from their viewpoints, while the non-eyewitnesses are kept at distance. These patterns are not found in the non-narrative news reports.

The main conclusion from Chapter 3 is that the language of news narratives differs from the language of non-narrative news reports in terms of viewpoint representation. In news narratives, choices of grammatical subject and referential expressions put readers close to eyewitnesses to criminal events and enable them to virtually experience the described crimes from an eyewitness perspective.

Chapter 4

Chapter 4 builds on the results from Chapter 3 and aims to examine the relation between the form and function of news narratives in more detail. To that end, a cognitive linguistic model is developed in which the notion of *mental spaces* plays a prominent role. According to *Mental Space Theory* (Fauconnier, 1985), information in a text is represented over various mental spaces. Processing and assigning meaning to texts requires readers to create a cognitive representation of these spaces. In this framework, perspectivization can be seen as the embedding of a person bound mental space within the narrator's space. This embedded mental space is filled with information that is valid from the viewpoint of the person to whom this space is restricted, but not (necessarily) from the viewpoints of others.

The model conceptualizes a news narrative as a network of mental spaces, each with its own topology in terms of time, place, and viewpoint. During the processing of news narratives, readers move through this network; they visit various spaces in various narration times, and experience the described events from various viewpoints. This process is guided by linguistic elements which open up mental spaces and connect these spaces to one another.

The model is applied to a Dutch and an American news narrative about (different) mass shootings. The analysis reveals several linguistic strategies that are used to describe the shootings from the viewpoints of eyewitnesses. Verbs of perception (*see, hear*)

and cognition (*think*, *realize*) are used to indicate the perceptions and thoughts of eyewitnesses. In the American narrative, free indirect discourse blends the viewpoints of eyewitnesses, journalist, and reader into one shared viewpoint. In the Dutch narrative, a similar effect is achieved through the use of present tense narration of cognition and perception. These techniques further enable readers to virtually experience the shootings from up close, as mediated witnesses.

At the same time, descriptions of news events from the viewpoints of eyewitnesses signal a violation of journalistic conventions, since such viewpoint representation techniques are by nature reconstructive and fictionalizing. The analysis points out that discourse reports can fulfill a legitimizing function by signaling the truthfulness of news narratives. Discourse reports are representations of the speech and thoughts of a news source. News stories seem to employ two types of discourse reports. *Narrative-internal discourse reports* represent what news sources were saying and thinking during the newsworthy events. These reports show the emotions, thoughts, and mindsets of people who find themselves in a dangerous or even life threatening situation and, as such, fulfill a dramatizing function. By contrast, *narrative-external discourse reports* show what these news sources have stated afterwards, for instance during an interview with the press or a court hearing. These reports fulfill a legitimizing function by demonstrating that the narrative reconstruction is based on statements provided by news sources to the journalist.

The main conclusion from Chapter 4 is that journalists make strategic use of language to craft lively, dramatic narratives while simultaneously emphasizing the truthfulness of these narratives. In doing so, direct quotes and other types of discourse reports play an important role.

Chapter 5

Chapter 5 reports upon a study on the historical development of narrative-internal and narrative-external discourse reports. The cognitive linguistic model developed in Chapter 4 is employed to analyze a corpus of 300 Dutch news narratives, all of which have been published between 1860 and 2009. The analysis shows, first, a shift in the ratio between direct and indirect discourse reports. Throughout the years, the use of the direct mode has increased at the expense of a decrease in the indirect mode. This growing preference for direct reports might be explained by a growing need for attractive stories, since direct reports add more liveliness to a narrative than indirect reports. A different explanation for the increase in direct reports lies in an increasing desire for journalists to put their own viewpoint to the background; in direct reports, the viewpoint and hence the responsibility for the information lies fully with the news source, whereas indirect reports are paraphrases in which the journalist's viewpoint inevitably shows through.

Results furthermore show a significant increase in the percentage of news narratives with narrative-external discourse reports: from 10% between 1860 and 1869 up to 95% between 1990 and 2009. Thus, in earlier times, the vast minority of news narratives featured narrative-external discourse reports, whereas contemporary news narratives almost always display such legitimizing discourse reports. By contrast, the percentage of narratives with narrative-internal discourse reports showed no development over time. An important finding is that the dominant function of discourse reports has shifted over time from dramatization to legitimization. Until halfway of the twentieth century, most reports in news narratives were narrative-internal discourse reports, intended to enliven the narratives. But from then on, most reports were narrative-external discourse reports, intended to demonstrate the truthfulness of the narratives.

The main conclusion from Chapter 5 is that the journalistic demand of legitimization has become more important over time.

Journalists increasingly used discourse reports as a way to emphasize the truthfulness of their narratives. Nevertheless, discourse reports have in all periods also been used as a technique to dramatize news narratives.

Chapter 6

Chapter 6 tests the hypothesis that crime news narratives put readers in the position of mediated witnesses to the described events. This experience consists of two dimensions: readers' sense of being present at the scene and their identification with eyewitnesses. In an experiment, participants read either an original news narrative about a shooting which took place in a shopping mall in Alphen aan den Rijn in 2009, or an original non-narrative news report about the same event. The narrative described the shooting from the viewpoints of eyewitnesses, was chronologically structured, and written in the present tense. By contrast, the non-narrative news report described the shooting from a neutral and detached viewpoint, was non-chronologically structured, and written in the past tense. Because the narrative was longer than the non-narrative news report, a third group of participants read an extended news report which was composed out of various original news reports. This was done to control for possible effects of length. Thus, the experimental materials consisted of three text versions: a long news narrative, a short non-narrative news report, and a long non-narrative news report.

A questionnaire was designed to measure various dimensions of participants' engagement with the news text. A factor analysis revealed that this experience consisted of five dimensions: *Narrative Presence, Identification, Empathy, Emotions*, and *Attentional Focus*. Results of the experiment showed that readers of the narrative had a stronger sense of being inside the shopping mall during the shooting (*Narrative Presence*) and identified more strongly with eyewitnesses

(*Identification*) compared to readers of the short news report and readers of the long news report. These results indicate that news narrative can indeed enable readers to experience shocking news events as mediated witnesses.

Results for the other three dimensions of narrative engagement were less consistent. Readers of the narrative were more focused on the story (*Attentional Focus*) compared to readers of the long news report, but not compared to readers of the short news report. In addition, readers of the narrative reported more emotions (*Emotions*) compared to readers of the short news report, but not compared to readers of the long news report. Finally, readers of the narrative and readers of the long news report felt more empathy with eyewitnesses (*Empathy*) than readers of the short news report.

The main conclusion from Chapter 6 is that crime news narratives can put readers in the position of mediated witnesses, thus facilitating their imagination of events that are otherwise hard to imagine.

Chapter 7

Chapter 7 provides an overview of the main findings and conclusions from the various studies. The results are then discussed in different contexts. In the context of cognitive linguistics, this thesis contributes to the development of models to analyze viewpoint in narrative discourse and to formulate hypotheses about the relation between the language of narratives and readers' mental representation of narrative worlds. The model developed in Chapter 4 can be used for qualitative as well as quantitative examinations of the language of narratives.

This thesis furthermore contributes to research in the field of journalism studies. It shows, first, that changes in the pragmatics of journalistic discourse can be examined in a systematic and reliable way. As such, this thesis contributes to previous, mostly qualitative

studies on language in journalism. Second, this thesis sheds some new light on the genre of narrative journalism. Contrary to what is generally assumed, there are some notable stylistic differences between fictional narratives and news narratives.

In the context of communication studies, this thesis extends research on the impact of narratives by demonstrating the engaging effects of an original news narrative which was published in a newspaper. Moreover, it provides more insight into the exact nature of readers' engagement with news narratives as it measured various dimensions of narrative engagement.

Finally, Chapter 7 discusses the limitations of this dissertation and outlines directions for future research. In the final section of this chapter, a proposal is made to conceptualize identification with narrative characters as a form of mental simulation in which readers simulate characters' perceptions and actions. Measuring these simulations can provide more insight into the dynamic process of identification with narrative characters, and, in a broader sense, further illuminate the relation between language, cognition, and narratives.

Samenvatting in het Nederlands (Summary in Dutch)

Dit proefschrift gaat over journalistieke verhalen. Journalistieke verhalen vormen een hybride genre in de zin dat deze verhalen kenmerken van journalistiek en fictie combineren. Het eerste doel van dit proefschrift is om inzicht te krijgen in de relatie tussen de talige vorm van deze verhalen en hun functies. Centrale vragen hierbij zijn: Welke verteltechnieken worden ingezet in journalistieke verhalen? Op welke manier worden deze technieken met behulp van taal gerealiseerd? En wat is de functie van deze technieken? Het tweede doel van dit proefschrift is om de effecten van journalistieke verhalen op het lezerspubliek te bepalen. De centrale vraag hierbij is: In hoeverre zorgen journalistieke verhalen ervoor dat lezers het gevoel krijgen dat zij de beschreven nieuwsgebeurtenissen zélf van dichtbij meemaken, als *indirecte getuigen?*

Hoofdstuk 1

Hoofdstuk 1 geeft een inleiding op het genre van de verhalende journalistiek. Een journalistiek verhaal wordt in dit hoofdstuk gedefinieerd als een reconstructie van een nieuwsgebeurtenis vanuit het perspectief van een of meer personen die betrokken waren bij de gebeurtenis. Volgens deze definitie onderscheiden journalistieke verhalen zich van traditionele nieuwsberichten door het gebruik van perspectivering, een verteltechniek om de waarnemingen en gedachten van nieuwsbronnen weer te geven. Journalistieke verhalen onderscheiden zich daarnaast van fictieve verhalen doordat ze gebeurtenissen uit de werkelijkheid reconstrueren, terwijl fictieve

verhalen niet gebonden zijn aan de werkelijkheid en vrij zijn denkbeeldige gebeurtenissen te construeren.

Hoofdstuk 1 zoomt vervolgens in op journalistieke verhalen over misdaad. In eerder onderzoek is beargumenteerd dat deze misdaadverhalen een specifieke functie vervullen: ze bieden lezers de mogelijkheid zich te identificeren met ooggetuigen en indirect, op virtuele wijze zelf ooggetuige te zijn van de misdaad. De totstandkoming van een dergelijke fenomenologische ervaring vereist dat lezers het perspectief van ooggetuigen innemen. Dit proefschrift onderzoekt daarom op welke manieren gebruik wordt gemaakt van perspectivering in journalistieke misdaadverhalen, met als uiteindelijke doel de relatie tussen de vorm en functie van deze verhalen te ontrafelen. Daarbij staan cognitief-taalkundige opvattingen over perspectief in taal centraal.

Hoofdstuk 1 bespreekt vervolgens onderzoek naar de historische ontwikkeling van journalistieke verhalen. Diverse onderzoeken hebben getracht in kaart te brengen of de hoeveelheid journalistieke verhalen in kranten door de jaren heen is toegenomen. Een terugkerend probleem in deze onderzoeken is de operationalisering van wat een journalistiek verhaal is. Deze is vaak vaag, waardoor het onderscheid tussen verhalen en niet-verhalende artikelen onduidelijk blijft. Ik stel daarom een alternatieve aanpak voor waarin niet gekeken wordt naar de verhouding tussen verhalen en niet-verhalen, maar naar ontwikkelingen in het gebruik van perspectivering *binnen* het genre van journalistieke verhalen.

In de laatste sectie van Hoofdstuk 1 wordt experimenteel onderzoek naar de effecten van journalistieke verhalen besproken. Het vertrekpunt van deze bespreking is het *Transportation-Imagery Model* (Green & Brock, 2002). In dit model wordt transportatie – het gevoel dat mensen ervaren wanneer zij een verhaal in gezogen worden en in gedachten zelf deel gaan uitmaken van de verhaalwereld – voorgesteld als een verklarende factor voor de overtuigingskracht van verhalen. De schaal die Green en Brock (2000) ontwikkelden om transportatie te meten is veelvuldig in onderzoek gebruikt, zo ook in onderzoek naar

de effecten van journalistieke verhalen. Deze onderzoeken hebben aangetoond dat lezers van journalistieke verhalen in sterkere mate getransporteerd raken dan lezers van niet-verhalende journalistieke teksten.

Een nadeel aan de transportatieschaal is dat deze eendimensionaal is, terwijl de betrokkenheid van lezers bij een verhaal doorgaans als een multidimensionale ervaring wordt geconceptualiseerd. In de context van journalistieke misdaadverhalen gaat het daarbij om de ervaring van lezers dat zij indirect ooggetuige van de misdaad zijn. Deze ervaring bestaat uit twee dimensies: het gevoel van lezers dat zij zelf bij de gebeurtenissen aanwezig zijn en hun identificatie met ooggetuigen die een rol spelen in het verhaal. Om te meten of deze multidimensionale ervaring inderdaad optreedt tijdens het lezen van journalistieke misdaadverhalen, wordt het gebruik van een alternatieve schaal voorgesteld: de *narrative engagement*-schaal (Busselle & Bilandzic, 2009). Deze schaalt maakt onder meer onderscheid tussen *narrative presence* (een ervaring waarbij de lezer zich in de verhaalwereld bevindt) en *emotional engagement* (een ervaring waarin lezers emotioneel betrokken raken bij het verhaal en de personages). Deze twee dimensies corresponderen met de dimensies waaruit een ervaring als indirecte ooggetuige van een misdaad bestaat. Met de narrative engagement-schaal kan zodoende nauwkeurig worden vastgesteld in hoeverre deze ervaring optreedt tijdens het lezen van journalistieke misdaadverhalen.

Hoofdstuk 2

In Hoofdstuk 2 worden interviews gepresenteerd met journalisten die het genre van de verhalende journalistiek beoefenen en docenten die dit genre doceren aan journalistiek-opleidingen. Hoewel in Nederland al sinds de begindagen van de journalistiek een vorm van verhalende journalistiek wordt bedreven, wordt het genre sinds een aantal jaren

als een "nieuw" genre gepromoot en zetten diverse initatieven zich in om het gebruik van verhalen te stimuleren onder journalisten. Het doel van dit hoofdstuk is te onderzoeken waarom verhalende journalistiek als een nieuw genre wordt gezien en met welke motieven professionalisering van het genre wordt nagestreefd.

Om deze vraag te beantwoorden wordt een onderzoek uitgevoerd dat uit twee delen bestaat. In het eerste deel wordt onderzocht hoe verhalende journalistiek wordt geframed in *publieke uitingen* over het genre, dat wil zeggen in handboeken over (verhalende) journalistiek en in openbare publicaties van de *Stichting Verhalende Journalistiek*. De resultaten van deze analyse laten zien dat verhalende journalistiek in drie frames wordt bediscussieerd. Verhalende journalistiek (1) *Ontroert Lezers*; (2) is *Essentieel* om kranten uit het slop te trekken door lezers te trekken; en (3) is van *Hoge Kwaliteit*.

In het tweede deel wordt onderzocht hoe verhalende journalistiek wordt geframed in het *persoonlijk taalgebruik* van personen die actief betrokken zijn bij de promotie van het genre: journalisten, oprichters en bestuursleden van de *Stichting Verhalende Journalistiek* en docenten verhalende journalistiek aan journalistiekopleidingen. De analyse van de interviews laat zien dat verhalende journalistiek in drie frames wordt besproken. Verhalende journalistiek wordt, ten eerste, geframed als (1) een *Gevaarlijk Spel*: het gebruik van literaire verteltechnieken kan journalisten in de verleiding brengen om luchtiger met de werkelijkheid om te gaan omwille van de esthetiek. De autoriteit en geloofwaardigheid van de journalistiek kunnen daardoor op het spel komen te staan. In het tweede frame wordt verhalende journalistiek gezien als (2) een *Paradigmaverschuiving*: de traditionele norm van objectiviteit wordt losgelaten met als argument dat objectiviteit nu eenmaal niet bestaat. In het nieuwe paradigma wordt van lezers verwacht dat zij zelf kunnen beoordelen wanneer iets waar is en wanneer niet. Verhalende journalistiek wordt, ten slotte, geframed als (3) *De Heilige Graal*:

goede journalistieke verhalen zijn het hoogst haalbare voor journalisten.

Uit Hoofdstuk 2 blijkt dat er in de praktijk een ambivalente houding bestaat ten opzichte van verteltechnieken in journalistieke teksten: ze zijn nodig om lezers te trekken en te emotioneren, zeker in deze tijd van steeds verder dalende krantenoplages, maar ze zijn ook gevaarlijk omdat ze de grens tussen feit en fictie vervagen. Perspectivering wordt als een belangrijke verteltechniek gezien en zelfs als de "wonderolie" van journalistieke verhalen. Maar perspectivering is tevens een bij uitstek fictionaliserende techniek. Onderzoek naar deze techniek in journalistieke verhalen kan inzicht verschaffen in de manier waarop deze verhalen binnen de grenzen van de non-fictie nieuwsgebeurtenissen op dramatische wijze reconstrueren.

Hoofdstuk 3

In Hoofdstuk 3 en Hoofdstuk 4 staat de vraag centraal op welke manieren journalistieke misdaadverhalen gebeurtenissen vanuit het perspectief van betrokkenen reconstrueren. Om deze vraag te beantwoorden wordt gebruikgemaakt van cognitief-taalkundige theorieën over perspectief. Een centrale aanname binnen de cognitieve taalkunde is dat de manier waarop informatie in taal is verpakt, bepaalt hoe de ontvanger die informatie mentaal representeert. Een cognitief-taalkundige benadering van journalistieke verhalen maakt het mogelijk om de talige realisatie van perspectief nauwkeurig te analyseren alsook te beschrijven hoe lezers perspectivering verwerken en zich mentaal een beeld vormen van de verhaalwereld.

In Hoofdstuk 3 staan twee talige indicatoren van perspectief centraal: de keuze voor het grammaticale onderwerp van een zin en de keuze voor referentiële verwijzingen. De keuze voor het grammaticale onderwerp van een zin bepaalt vanuit welke positie een scène wordt

beschreven: het perspectief, vergelijkbaar met de camerapositie in films, ligt bij het personage dat in onderwerpspositie staat. Ook de wijze waarop verwezen wordt naar personages draagt bij aan perspectivering: een zelfstandig naamwoord (*de man*, *meneer Jacobs*) creëert distantie, waardoor we als lezer van een afstand naar het personage kijken, terwijl een voornaamwoord (*hij*) juist nabijheid creëert, waardoor we als lezer met het personage meekijken en de gebeurtenissen vanuit diens perspectief beleven.

In een analyse van grammaticale onderwerpen en verwijzingen wordt een vergelijking gemaakt tussen Nederlandse en Amerikaanse journalistieke verhalen enerzijds en niet-verhalende nieuwsberichten anderzijds. De resultaten laten zien dat ooggetuigen in de nieuwsverhalen vaker het grammaticale onderwerp van een zin zijn dan niet-ooggetuigen (daders, autoriteiten, slachtoffers, enz.). Dit betekent dat de cameralens over de schouders van ooggetuigen is geplaatst en dat de gebeurtenissen dus vanuit hun positie worden beschreven. Daarnaast wordt in nieuwsverhalen vaker met voornaamwoorden dan met naamwoorden naar ooggetuigen verwezen, terwijl naar niet-ooggetuigen vaker met naamwoorden dan met voornaamwoorden wordt verwezen. Dit betekent dat de ooggetuigen conceptueel nabij zijn en dat lezers de gebeurtenissen vanuit hun perspectief meemaken, terwijl de niet-ooggetuigen op afstand worden gehouden. Deze patronen worden niet teruggevonden in de niet-verhalende nieuwsberichten.

Uit Hoofdstuk 3 kan worden geconcludeerd dat het taalgebruik in journalistieke verhalen wat betreft perspectivering afwijkt van het taalgebruik in niet-verhalende nieuwsberichten. De keuzes voor grammaticale onderwerpen en referentiële verwijzingen in journalistieke verhalen zorgen ervoor dat lezers dicht bij ooggetuigen van misdaden worden geplaatst en de beschreven misdaden vanuit een ooggetuigeperspectief beleven.

Hoofdstuk 4

Hoofdstuk 4 bouwt voort op de resultaten uit Hoofdstuk 3 en heeft als doel de relatie tussen de vorm en functie van nieuwsverhalen nader te onderzoeken. Daartoe wordt een cognitief-taalkundig model ontwikkeld waarin de notie van *mental spaces* een prominente rol inneemt. Volgens de *Mental Space Theory* (Fauconnier, 1985) is informatie in een tekst verdeeld over verschillende 'mentale ruimtes'. De verwerking van en betekenisgeving aan teksten vereist dat lezers een cognitieve representatie van deze ruimtes creëren. Perspectivering kan in dit kader worden opgevat als de inbedding van een persoonsgebonden mentale ruimte binnen de vertellersruimte. Deze ingebedde mentale ruimte is gevuld met informatie zoals die geldig is vanuit het perspectief van de persoon aan wie de ruimte toebehoort, maar niet (noodzakelijkerwijs) vanuit het perspectief van anderen.

Het ontwikkelde model conceptualiseert een nieuwsverhaal als een netwerk van mentale ruimtes, elk verbonden aan een eigen tijd, plaats en perspectief. Tijdens de verwerking van journalistieke verhalen bewegen lezers zich door dit netwerk; zij bezoeken tijdens het lezen verschillende ruimtes in verschillende tijden, en beleven de beschreven gebeurtenissen vanuit verschillende perspectieven. Dit proces wordt gestuurd door talige elementen die mentale ruimtes openen en met elkaar verbinden.

Het model wordt ingezet om een Nederlands nieuwsverhaal en een Amerikaans nieuwsverhaal over massaschietpartijen te analyseren. Diverse talige strategieën blijken te worden gebruikt om de schietpartijen vanuit het perspectief van ooggetuigen te beschrijven. Werkwoorden van perceptie (*zien*, *horen*) en cognitie (*denken*, *zich realiseren*) worden veelvuldig gebruikt om de gebeurtenissen vanuit de waarnemingen en gedachten van ooggetuigen weer te geven. In het Amerikaanse nieuwsverhaal zorgt de vrije indirecte rede voor een vermenging van de perspectieven van ooggetuigen, journalist en lezer. In het Nederlandse nieuwsverhaal vindt een soortgelijke vermenging plaats door het gebruik van

cognitieve en perceptieve werkwoorden in de tegenwoordige tijd. Deze technieken dragen eraan bij dat lezers de positie van indirecte ooggetuige kunnen innemen en de schietpartijen virtueel van dichtbij meemaken.

De beschrijving van nieuwsgebeurtenissen vanuit het perspectief van ooggetuigen signaleert tegelijkertijd een schending van journalistieke conventies omdat de technieken die daarbij worden ingezet reconstruerend en fictionaliserend van aard zijn. De analyse laat zien dat citaten een legitimerende functie kunnen vervullen door de waarheidsgetrouwheid van journalistieke verhalen aan te tonen. Met een citaat wordt hier elke vorm van weergave van spraak en gedachten van een nieuwsbron bedoeld. In nieuwsverhalen blijken twee soorten citaten te worden gebruikt. *Verhaalinterne citaten* geven weer wat nieuwsbronnen tijdens de nieuwsgebeurtenissen zeiden en dachten. Deze citaten tonen de emoties, gedachten en gemoedstoestanden van mensen op het moment dat zij zich in een gevaarlijke of zelfs levensgevaarlijke situatie bevinden en vervullen zodoende een dramatiserende functie. *Verhaalexterne citaten* geven daarentegen weer wat nieuwsbronnen ná de nieuwsgebeurtenissen verklaarden, bijvoorbeeld tijdens een interview met de pers of een rechtszaak. Deze citaten hebben een legitimerende functie omdat ze aantonen dat de reconstructie is gebaseerd op verklaringen die betrokkenen na afloop van de gebeurtenissen hebben afgelegd.

De hoofdconclusie uit Hoofdstuk 4 is dat journalisten strategisch gebruik maken van taal om levendige, dramatische verhalen te schrijven en gelijktijdig de waarheidsgetrouwheid van deze verhalen te benadrukken. Daarbij is een belangrijke rol weggelegd voor citaten.

Hoofdstuk 5

Hoofdstuk 5 beschrijft een historisch onderzoek naar ontwikkelingen in het gebruik van verhaalinterne en verhaalexterne citaten. Het cognitief-taalkundig model uit Hoofdstuk 4 wordt ingezet om een corpus van 300 nieuwsverhalen te analyseren die tussen 1860 en 2009 in Nederlandse kranten zijn verschenen. De analyse laat allereerst een verschuiving zien in de verhouding tussen citaten in de directe rede en citaten in de indirecte rede. Het gebruik van de directe rede is door de jaren heen toegenomen ten koste van de indirecte rede. Deze groeiende voorkeur voor directe citaten kan verklaard worden vanuit een groeiende behoefte aan aantrekkelijke verhalen; directe citaten zijn immers levendiger dan indirecte citaten. Een aanvullende verklaring voor de toename in directe citaten is dat journalisten in de loop der tijd hun eigen perspectief meer naar de achtergrond proberen te drukken; in directe citaten ligt het perspectief en daarmee de verantwoordelijkheid voor de informatie volledig bij de nieuwsbron, terwijl indirecte citaten parafrases zijn waarin het perspectief van de journalist onvermijdelijk doorschemert.

De resultaten tonen voorts een significante toename in het percentage nieuwsverhalen met verhaalexterne citaten: van 10% tussen 1860 en 1869 tot 95% tussen 1990 en 2009. Waar in vroeger tijden een ruime minderheid van de verhalen gebruik maakte van verhaalexterne citaten, vertonen hedendaagse verhalen dus vrijwel altijd dit soort legitimerende citaten. Er heeft daarentegen geen ontwikkeling plaatsgevonden in het percentage verhalen met verhaalinterne citaten. Een belangrijke bevinding is dat de dominante functie van citaten door de tijd heen is verschoven van dramatisering naar legitimering. Tot halverwege de twintigste eeuw waren de meeste citaten in nieuwsverhalen verhaalinterne citaten, bedoeld om de verhalen te verlevendigen. Daarna keerde de verhouding zich om en waren de meeste citaten verhaalexterne citaten, bedoeld om de waarheidsgetrouwheid van de verhalen aan te tonen.

De hoofdconclusie uit Hoofdstuk 5 is dat de eis van legitimering belangrijker is geworden in journalistieke verhalen. Journalisten zijn citaten in toenemende mate gaan gebruiken als een manier om de waarheidsgetrouwheid van hun verhalen te benadrukken. Tegelijkertijd zijn citaten in alle periodes gebruikt als een techniek om nieuwsverhalen te dramatiseren.

Hoofdstuk 6

Hoofdstuk 6 toetst de hypothese dat lezers van journalistieke misdaadverhalen indirect ooggetuige worden van de beschreven misdaad. Deze ervaring bestaat uit twee dimensies: het gevoel van lezers dat zij zelf aanwezig zijn bij de misdaad en hun identificatie met ooggetuigen van de misdaad. In een experiment lazen mensen ofwel een bestaand journalistiek verhaal over een schietpartij die in 2009 plaatsvond in een winkelcentrum in Alphen aan den Rijn ofwel een bestaand niet-verhalend nieuwsbericht over diezelfde schietpartij. Het verhaal beschrijft de schietpartij vanuit het perspectief van ooggetuigen, in chronologische volgorde en in de tegenwoordige tijd. Het nieuwsbericht daarentegen beschrijft de schietpartij vanuit een neutraal en afstandelijk perspectief, in een achronologische volgorde en in de verleden tijd. Omdat het nieuwsverhaal langer was dan het niet-verhalende nieuwsbericht, las een derde groep participanten een lang nieuwsbericht dat was samengesteld uit verschillende bestaande nieuwsberichten. Zodoende kon worden gecontroleerd voor eventuele effecten van lengte en ontstonden er drie tekstversies: een lang nieuwsverhaal, een kort niet-verhalend nieuwsbericht, en een lang niet-verhalend nieuwsbericht.

Met een vragenlijst werden verschillende dimensies van de leeservaring van de participanten gemeten. Een factoranalyse liet zien dat deze ervaring uit vijf verschillende dimensies bestond: *Narrative Presence, Identificatie, Empathie, Emoties,* en *Attentional Focus*. Uit

de resultaten van het experiment bleek dat lezers van het verhaal sterker het gevoel hadden dat zij zelf aanwezig waren in het winkelcentrum tijdens de schietpartij (*Narrative Presence*) en dat zij zich ook sterker identificeerden met ooggetuigen (*Identificatie*) vergeleken met lezers van het korte en lezers van het lange nieuwsbericht. Deze resultaten tonen aan dat journalistieke verhalen er inderdaad toe kunnen leiden dat lezers indirect ooggetuigen worden van schokkende nieuwsgebeurtenissen.

Voor de overige drie dimensies waren de resultaten minder eenduidig. Lezers van het nieuwsverhaal waren in sterkere mate geconcentreerd op het verhaal (*Attentional Focus*) vergeleken met lezers van het lange nieuwsbericht, maar niet vergeleken met lezers van het korte nieuwsbericht. Lezers van het nieuwsverhaal waren daarnaast sterker emotioneel geraakt (*Emoties*) vergeleken met lezers van het korte nieuwsbericht, maar niet vergeleken met lezers van het lange nieuwsbericht. Ten slotte hadden lezers van het nieuwsverhaal en lezers van het lange nieuwsbericht meer empathie voor de ooggetuigen (*Empathie*) dan lezers van het korte nieuwsbericht.

De belangrijkste conclusie uit Hoofdstuk 6 is dat journalistieke misdaadverhalen lezers in de positie van indirecte ooggetuige kunnen plaatsen en hen op die manier in staat stellen zich een voorstelling te maken van gebeurtenissen die anders moeilijk voorstelbaar zijn.

Hoofdstuk 7

Hoofdstuk 7 geeft een overzicht van de belangrijkste resultaten en conclusies uit de verschillende onderzoeken. De resultaten worden vervolgens in verschillende contexten besproken. In de context van de cognitieve taalkunde levert dit proefschrift een bijdrage aan de ontwikkeling van modellen om perspectief in verhalen te analyseren en verwachtingen op te stellen over de relatie tussen taalgebruik in verhalen en de mentale representatie van verhaalwerelden door lezers.

Het model dat in Hoofdstuk 4 wordt gepresenteerd, is geschikt voor zowel kwalitatieve als kwantitatieve analyses van taalgebruik in verhalen.

Dit proefschrift levert daarnaast verschillende bijdragen aan onderzoek naar journalistiek. Het laat ten eerste zien dat veranderingen in het taalgebruik in journalistieke teksten op systematische en betrouwbare wijze kunnen worden onderzocht. Daarmee biedt dit proefschrift een aanvulling op eerdere onderzoeken naar taalgebruik in de journalistiek, die veelal kwalitatief van aard waren. Ten tweede werpt dit proefschrift een nieuw licht op het genre van de verhalende journalistiek. Anders dan vaak wordt aangenomen, bestaan er wel degelijk stilistische verschillen tussen fictieve verhalen en journalistieke verhalen.

In de context van communicatie-onderzoek levert dit proefschrift een bijdrage aan onderzoek naar de impact van verhalen door de effecten aan te tonen van een bestaand verhaal zoals dat in een krant is verschenen. Bovendien biedt dit proefschrift meer inzicht in de betrokkenheid van lezers bij nieuwsverhalen omdat meerdere dimensies van deze betrokkenheid zijn gemeten.

Hoofdstuk 7 bespreekt ten slotte de beperkingen aan dit proefschrift en voorstellen voor vervolgonderzoek. In het laatste deel van dit hoofdstuk wordt een voorstel gedaan om identificatie met personages te conceptualiseren als een vorm van mentale simulatie waarbij lezers de waarnemingen en handelingen van personages simuleren. Het meten van deze simulaties kan meer inzicht verschaffen in het dynamische proces van identificatie met verhaalpersonages en, in breder opzicht, de relatie tussen taal, cognitie en verhalen verder ontrafelen.

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Curriculum Vitae

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